THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

VOL. XV NO. 23 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1976 25¢



Inside

Creative Curriculum, 150 Students

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL EXPANDS SERVICES TO YOUTH



BPINS photo

The popular and innovative Oakland Community School, one of the most influential educational institutions in the country, began its sixth year with an expanded curriculum and an enrollment of 150 predominantly Black and poor students.

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Oakland Community School (OCS), one of the most influential educational institutions in the state of California, began its sixth year of quality, innovative education here on Monday, September 13, with an expanded curriculum designed to better serve its 150 predominantly Black and poor students.

Fresh from the three-month summer vacation, OCS students — many of whom are new to the School — are starting the year off not only with an enlarged curriculum but with a freshly painted and beautifully redecorated building, the product of long hours of hard work voluntarily donated by parents, stafff members and other supporters of the popular model East Oakland school. There was a feeling of excitement and anticipation as the children settled down for what promises to be a challenging school year.

In past years, OCS students, ages 2½ to 11, were organized into eight groups. That structure has been changed this year, however, with the creation of 12 levels that allow the School to expand its curriculum into secondary education.

Providing some insight into why the curriculum has been enlarged, OCS Director Ericka Huggins explained that last year an eight-year-old boy attending the School excelled in mathematics, performing on a high school level. Since he was too young to go to high school but had the ability to do some high school work, the OCS staff began to see the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION
8501 E. 14TH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIF. 94621

Editorial

REGISTER TO VOTE

According to several recent surveys, in all likelihood the President of the United States in 1976 will limp into office in an election in which a good 70 per cent of the country's eligible voters will either have chosen to vote against him or not vote at all.

Voter apathy, the phenomena of the nonvoter, is reaching epidemic proportions this year, casting doubt not only on the legitimacy of the Presidential elections — the entire American electoral system, in fact — but also raising serious questions concerning the "political disease" (as the *New York Times* calls it), at the root of it all.

Turning this around, the question then becomes, how do we draw upon this widespread upsurge of alienation and dissatisfaction with the American political system, with the quality of life and prospects for survival — with America, period — and organize ourselves into a political force capable of bettering our chances for a good and decent life?

The urgency of the situation is enough for one cynic to quip that he had heard about another proposed Kissinger "shuttle" — this time to certain Black and Third World urban centers of America, such as Oakland, before things got any rougher. The essential issue is the same, the cynic noted, if perhaps just a bit more disguised, as in Zimbabwe, (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa) and Azania (South Africa): That is, majority rule.

The city of Oakland, in common with several other somewhat medium-sized metropolitan centers, has a majority Black, Chicano, Asian, Native American, population, upwards of 60 to 65 per cent.

Add to those traditionally oppressed communities, those progressive-minded peoples with those who just plain "don't like what's going on" — and realize it — and the ranks of our majority, our people's political force, swells.

To those who say, "I ain't into politics" or the system's corrupt "anyway," why vote, the answer can be, well, push it to the max "anyway," if only to prove it to others, and then we can move on to "sterner stuff."

To those who say that even if our majority got together, we won't agree on anything, we can answer, well, if we do get together, at least we've agreed about that.

Register to Vote.



THE SUN REPORTER

Letters to the Editor

MARYLAND INMATES REPLY TO DISTORTED LETTER ON PRISON CONDITIONS

Honorable Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
United States Senator
1616 Federal Building
31 Hopkins Plaza
Baltimore, Md. 21201

July 29, 1976

Dear Senator Mathias:

In response to a letter received by you from Mr. McLindsey Hawkins, Assistant Warden-Custody, of the Maryland Penitentiary, please be advised that the conditions of the institution described in his letter are within the rules and regulations set down by the Department of Corrections. However, the institution described by Mr. Hawkins is not the Maryland Penitentiary. His description shows that he is totally out of touch with the reality of conditions here, or his letter is a deliberate attempt to mislead you and to head off any inquiry you might make into the deplorable conditions that now exist here.

Mr. Hawkins alleges that solitary confinement in the Maryland Pen is a thing of the past, but, the institution has an area popularly known as the "hole". This area has strip cells, a solid iron door, and the men kept here are completely isolated from everything. Also, the cells are always occupied.

Mr. Hawkins alleges that the men housed on the segregation wing are showered twice weekly, and given an exercise period lasting 30 minutes, on the average of 3 times a week, and more often when the personnel permits. This is not the case. showers are given once a week. Soap, towels, and clean clothes are provided on an infrequently basis. Walks lasting only 20 minutes are given out on an average of one every 8-10 days.

Mr. Hawkins alleges that fresh air is constantly coming into the segregation wing because many windows face the yard. This would be true, if the windows were open. As it is, the heat is stifling because the officers open the windows when they feel like it. They then remain open for short periods only.

Mr. Hawkins alleges that the mice and raoaches are no problem because of a contract with the Empire Exterminating company. A check with this company to find out when, and how frequently they visit the institution would be revealing, to say the least. Mr. Hawkins also mentions that institutional personnel spray the cells. It has been more than four years since the institution personnel has sprayed any cell on the segregation wing. Mr. Hawkins further alleges that the men are encouraged to keep their cells clean. This is true, but, no equipment is provided. In fact, men have received disciplinary reports for having brooms in their cells. On the segregation wing, mice and roaches are everywhere.

Mr. Hawkins alleges that sick call is held for segregated inmates everyday. This is a completely false allegation. Sick call is held once a week — on Monday. When the doctor fails to come, it is held the next Monday. When the doctor comes, he refuses to see anyone who doesn't have his name on the sick call list, which is drawn up a 8:00 Monday morning. If a man is asleep, he isn't sick. Sick call is conducted by the doctor who asks a few questions and prescribes medication. No examination is conducted because the inmate is locked in a cell and the doctor is outside the tier. The cell is not opened.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

COMMENT

Here And Now!! Jimmy Carter

The following comment is written by Dr. Carlton Goodlett, editor — publisher of San Franciso's Sun Reporter *newspaper and president of the National Newspaper Publisher's Association — The Black Press of America.*

The time has come when Jimmy Carter must be reminded that all roads don't yet lead to Georgia — some few still lead to Rome. A tremendous amount of antagonism exists among practicing Democrats at the manner in which the capital of the Democratic Party has been seated in Atlanta, Georgia, with the Democratic White House located in Plains.

While Carter's headquarters were originally located in Georgia, followed by the establishment of Mondale headquarters in the capital of Georgia, the latest Carter pronouncement indicated that the traditional Democratic campaign Detroit Labor Day speech has been transferred to that bastion of Southern labor, Augusta, Georgia.

In 36 of the 50 states, the Carter-Mondale campaign directors will be Carter-appointed out-of-staters with the proviso for White folks that the party chairman or the governor, especially in California, has a veto power over the surrogate from Georgia. But, with Black folks, there will be no local veto; the Blacks in California are to receive two out-of-state Black office boys working for old Jimmy; one, Michael Robbins, unknown to all Northern Californians, has been assigned the northern beat extending from the Tehachapi Mountains on the south to the Oregon border on the north. The Southern California Black Carter messenger has not been named.

During the past seven Presidential campaigns, Black California Democrats in the Presidential primaries have readily chosen sides. After the nominating conventions, Black Democrats have coalesced behind the leadership of those Black politicos who had supported the winning ticket prior to the convention. A strong indigenous Democratic

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

THE BLACK PANTHER
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621, TELEPHONE: (415) 638-0195.
YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $10.00
SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Chicago Black Man Released— Jailed On False Charges

"I've spent more than four years of my life in jail for things I didn't do, and I'm only 23. I'm sick about it. . .Why should I have any faith [in law enforcement and the courts]? They've put me in jail, in places that aren't fit for anyone. That ain't justice."

After 362 days in Cook County Jail and a wrongful conviction, an anonymous phone tip freed James Dixon, jailed August 2, 1975 on charges of aggravated battery and attempted murder of a police officer.

On that day in August last year, Police Sgt. Richard Scanlon claimed that Dixon was facing him as he tried to break up a fight between Dixon and Wilton Moore, 52, when he was shot in the stomach. Two eyewitnesses (Wilton Moore and a neighbor, James Pharr, who viewed the incident through his front window) told police investigators that Dixon was behind Scanlon who was facing Moore and shoving him with both hands when there was a shot and Scanlon stumbled.

Scanlon apparently shot himself with an illegal "pen gun" he carried in his shirt pocket, which accidently discharged. The gun has disappeared, and the question has been raised, "Who helped him dispose of it?" It is hard to imagine that the cover-up of the true events of this case could be the work of just one man, Dixon's attorneys point out.

There were several other police at the scene of the shooting. Also, a crucial page of James Pharr's statement given to police the day Scanlon was shot is missing from police files. The first page of this statement ends in mid-sentence just as Pharr began to relate what he saw at the time of the shooting.

Charges against Dixon were dropped August 20, 1976, and a Cook County grand jury has been investigating the shooting and whether police withheld information to frame Dixon. Morgan Park District officer Frances Zoller, one of the two arresting officers who witnessed the shooting, has been granted immunity by the grand jury. However, he can still be prosecuted for perjury.

Scanlon has been suspended by the police department, and dismissal charges are to be brought before the police board.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

CHARLES GARRY FILES MOTIO[illegible] TRIAL

JOHNNY S[illegible] GETS 22 YEARS IN ADJUST[illegible]T CENTER

(Tamal, Calif.) — Even before his defense counsel, Charles Garry, could file a motion for a new trial, the prison Classification Committee meted out its own brand of "justice" against Black Panther Party member and San Quentin 6 defendant Johnny Larry Spain, sentencing the 27-year-old Black inmate to 22 years and four months in the system's Adjustment Centers.

Similar to the case of fellow San Quentin 6 defendant David Johnson — whom the Classification Committee punished with a term of 13 years in the extreme isolation conditions of solitary confinement — the judgement against Spain also came before his actual court sentence, scheduled for september 30.

Spain, Johnson and Hugo Pinell, a husky Black Nicaraguan, were the three San Quentin 6 defendants convicted in a compromise jury verdict on August 12. Spain was convicted of two counts of murder and conspiracy to escape; Pinell, two counts of assault against a prison guard; and Johnson, one count of assault.

Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate and Luis Talamentez were acquitted of all charges. Drumgo and Talamentez have since been paroled from prison, the first two men ever released directly from the Adjustment Center's notorious first tier — where all the defendants, except Tate had been confined for the last five years — onto the street.



JOHNNY SPAIN

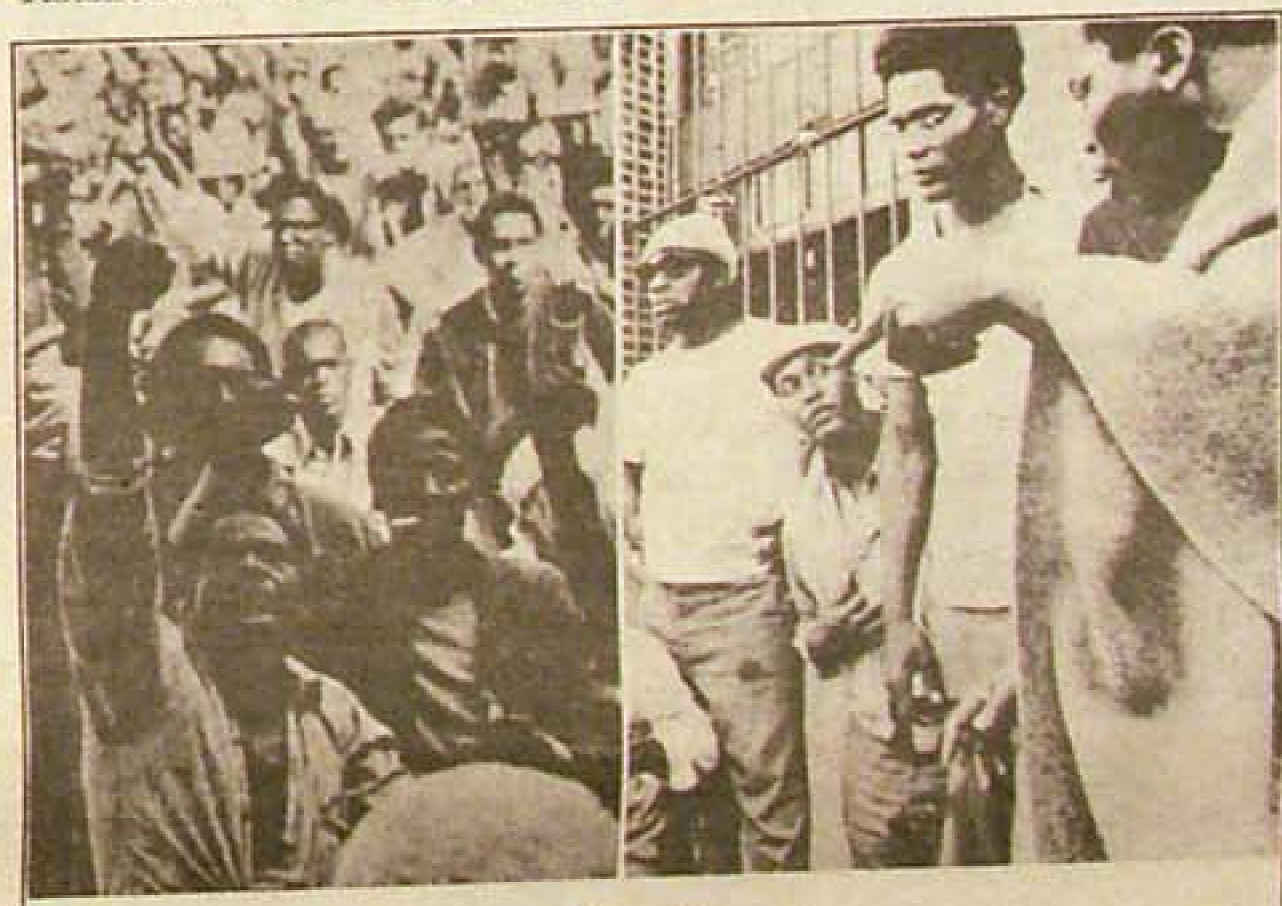
Singled out and selectively prosecuted, the six Black and Brown prison activists became co-defendants in the celebrated case which arose from the state's attempt to cover-up the assassination of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson on August 21, 1971.

Given five years off as "time served," the Classification Committee's ruling against Spain, who was not present at the prison hearing at which it was imposed, means that, pending appeal, Johnny Larry Spain would not be released from the Adjustment Center until May 21, 1988, at the earliest.

Meanwhile, one week after the Classification Committee's decision, Spain's attorney, Black Panther Party chief counsel Charles Garry, filed a motion for a new trial for his client "on the grounds that this court erred during the course of this trial in deciding several critical questions of law; that the verdict of the jury was in certain respects contrary to the law and evidence; and that the prosecutor engaged in prejudicial misconduct during the course of jury deliberations."

First and foremost, the 10-page brief cites the daily shackling and chaining of Spain in the courtroom, in violation of a 1976 state supreme court decision (Duran case), as valid legal basis for a new trial.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26



Attica

"We are MEN. We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . ."

On September 9, 1971, they rose up in the splendor of their unity and their numbers — the oppressed, the disadvantaged, overwhelmingly poor and predominantly Black — to demand an end to their suffering, to seize control over the destiny of their lives. Then, four days later, "Bloody Monday" — without warning, without mercy, the state retaliated [illegible] men, inmates and guards, [illegible]lessly slaughtered. They Black and White, young and old [illegible] rebelled in the name of freedom, and they died for the liberation of all humanity. Such is Attica's eternal legacy.



BPINS photos

At the OCS children of various ages are able to learn at their own rate of speed, receiving specialized instruction in areas in which they excel.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

need for creating a new curriculum structure to meet his needs and those of others like him.

The 12 levels—1 through 3, preschool; 4 through 6, primary, and 7-12, secondary — provide a method whereby children who excell in a particular area can receive the specialized instruction they require. Other children, then, are not pressured to perform beyond their abilities. A 10-year-old child may be in Level 11's mathematics class but in Level 8 for instruction in Language Arts.

In this way, the overall educational goal is achieved—enabling the children to learn at their own rate of speed, a situation almost totally lacking in the highly competitive atmosphere of the public school system. (See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for details on the OCS curriculum.)

STOREFRONT BUILDING

Since it first opened in a storefront building with 25 students in January, 1971, the OCS has steadily strengthened its educational program. Today, it is a source of inspiration for educators who come from throughout the state and across the nation to view the School as well as nonprofessional people anxious to start a similar program in their own communities. The OCS is so highly respected in the community that already there is a waiting list of over 100 children.

Besides its model approach to education—focusing on teaching the children *how* to think, not *what* to think—the School provides three free meals a day, free medical care and clothing for those who need it. Classes include Language Arts, Social Studies, Science, Mathematics, Art, Music, Physical Education and Environmental Studies. Field trips are a vital part of the School's curriculum, in line with the OCS motto, "The World Is The Children's Classroom."

The 35 OCS staff members—both paid and volunteers—come from all over the country, many having given up higher-paying jobs because of their commitment to the kind of education the School provides. They are more than teachers: they serve as friends and counselors to their students and totally join with the children in the learning experience, a unique experience that children everywhere deserve.□



The children of the Oakland Community School exhibit a closeness in work or at play that is seldom found in the public school system.





BPINS photos

The youngest participants in the innovative school program offered by the OCS are the youth in Group 1.

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

September 13, 1663

The first serious slave conspiracy in colonial America occurred on September 13, 1663, in Gloucester County, Virginia. The plot conceived by Black slaves and White indentured servants was eventually betrayed.

September 12, 1787

Prince Hall, a Black Revolutionary War veteran, received a charter from the Grand Lodge of England for the first Black Masonic lodge in America, African Lodge No. 459, on September 12, 1787.

September 17, 1861

The school which laid the foundation for Hampton Institute was established at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, on September 17, 1861, with a Black teacher, Mary Peake.

September 18, 1895

Booker T. Washington delivered his "Atlanta Compromise" speech at the Cotton Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, on September 18, 1895.

September 12, 1956

Black students entered a Clay, Kentucky, elementary school under National Guard protection on September 12, 1956. They were later barred from the school on September 17.

September 12, 1962

A fourth Black church burned down near Dawson, Georgia, on September 12, 1962. Three White men admitted to burning the church and were sentenced to seven-year prison terms for arson.

September 15, 1963

Four young Black girls were killed in the bombing of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church on September 15, 1963. It was revealed earlier this year that the FBI had prior knowledge of the tragic act but did nothing to prevent it.

September 12, 1969

Robert F. Williams, who was forced to flee the U.S. due to his advocacy of Black armed self-defense, returned to the country on September 12, 1969, after eight years of exile. In radio broadcasts from Hanoi, North Vietnam, Havana, Cuba, and Peking, China, Williams called for an armed revolt in America.

NONVOTERS EXPECTED TO EXCEED 70 MILLION IN NOVEMBER E... TIONS

(Washington, D.C.) — *Nobody for President, Don't vote — it only encourages 'em.*

This year, like never before, an unusually large group of Americans is taking these slogans seriously, or so it seems. Roughly 70 million voting age persons are expected to be nonvoters in the general elections this November 2.

This translates to mean that in all likelihood, the choice of President of the United States will be elected by less than one-third (30 per cent) of the voting-age population.

According to a survey conducted in late July by Peter Hart Research Associates and released last week, nonvoters, who are approaching majority status in the adult population, are increasingly clear in the determination to avoid the polling booth like the plague:

•Two-thirds of those polled in the national sample of nonvoters agree on the theme, "Candidates say one thing and then do another";

•Over 65 per cent explain nonvoting with the view, "It doesn't make a diffrence who is elected because things never seem to work right";

•Over one-half say simply, "I just don't bother with politics."

Just who are the nonvoters? Well, according to the Hart survey, the *New York Times* reports that nonvoters include a large number of younger, poorer, relatively less formally educated citizens "who never saw much to share or care about in political activity."

"But," the *Times* report continues, "those traditional nonvo ing ranks are being swelled. . .b a large group of new dropouts middle class, one-time voters wh are breaking the habit with a purpose."

Nonvoting inclinations are especially high among those 25-to-34-year-olds, the so-called "baby boom" generation which followed World War II. Nearly one-quarter of the nonvoters come from this age group.

In fact, one out of every eight individuals who voted in the Nixon-McGovern Presidential election in 1972 are not expected to vote in 1976 — a growth of 10 million nonvoters. Since 1972, the number of registered voters, wide, has dropped from llion to 90 million.

d what, if anything, would em to vote in the future, 50 per cent of the nonvoters red, "Having a candidate worth voting for."

One prominent finding in the Hart survey, interestingly, is that voters and nonvoters are remarkably alike, showing nearly the same interest in political news. The majority of nonvoters watch TV news programs at least three times a week and nearly half read a newspaper five times a week.

NOT "JOINERS"

Nonvoters differ from voters however, in that for the most part they are not "joiners." Most nonvoters do not attend any church regularly; nearly 50 per cent do not have any affiliations with unions, social clubs, sports teams or fraternal organizations.

There are serious implications with the nonvoting phenomena, as the *Times* report mentions:

"Many, though by no means all, students of American politics have found nonparticipation deeply worrisome.

"In the more anxious view of nonvoting, a question of legitimacy arises in a Presidential election where barely half of the possible electorate takes part — where easily 70 per cent of the eligible voters choose either to vote against the winner or not to vote at all.

"In a democracy pledged to 'government by the people,' massive nonvoting is often cited as a symptom of political disease."□



Because of a lack of faith in electoral politics, the enthusiasm to vote has severely declined.



BPINS photo

Oakland, California, street corner. In the Bay Area the Black youth unemployment rate is over 40 per cent.

40% JOBLESS

Bleak Future For Bay Area Black Youth

(San Francisco, Calif.) - After a small drop during the month of July, jobless rates for Black teenagers soared back to over 40 per cent in August, the U.S. Department of Labor reports.

For the thousands of Black youth who are ready to enter the fall job market, these statistics translate into a bleak future, Bay Area manpower experts say.

According to a recent feature story by Karen Howze in the *San Francisco Chronicle,* Bay Area unemployment figures for young people between the ages of 16 and 19 — Black and White — is over 30 per cent.

Although there is no breakdown according to race, "You can infer that the Bay Area picture for Black youths is substantially higher than the total picture," a spokesperson for the Labor Department in San Francisco said.

In the East Bay, the city of Richmond is fairly typical of northern California with large Black populations. Richmond has a population of close to 80,000 people, nearly 40 per cent Black.

Carl Metoyer, Richmond's manpower services director, estimates that 60 per cent of the city's Black youth are unemployed.

"A White student will come in and join one of the training programs in the city and find a job," Metoyer said. "A Black youth will come into the same program and find nothing.

"It's part of a vicious cycle that comes from a system that requires whole groups of people to remain unemployed."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



Black people across the country are rallying to prevent racist cutbacks in community services. Hundreds rallied in New York recently to save the famed Schomburg Black archives.

FAMED BLACK LIBRARY FACES CLOSING

HUNDREDS RALLY TO "SAVE SCHOMBURG CENTER"

(New York, N.Y.) — Hundreds of members and supporters of the Citizens Coalition to Save the Schomburg Center held a rally and picket line in front of the New York Public Library (NYPL) at 42nd St. and 5th Ave. on September 8, to protest the threatened closing of the world's largest Black library, while inside the NYPL a delegation from the Coalition attempted to meet with the Board of Trustees to present a list of demands.

The list of demands included:

1. A new building to house the Schomburg Center on the site already purchased for that purpose.

2. That in the meantime the present building be renovated and kept up, so that the building does not further deteriorate, and that the site purchased be cleared immediately.

3. That Archivist Laurore St. Juste and Acquisitions Librarian Keith Kern — both dismissed without cause and despite funds being available — be reinstated with full back pay.

4. That the administration of the NYPL stop their racist hiring practices and immediately start a compensatory hiring and training program to put Black people into positions previously closed to them.

5. That the all-White administration of the NYPL cease and desist from the racist practice of unjustly firing Schomburg's employees.

6. That the staff of Schomburg be expanded, vacant positions filled, and present positions upgraded.

7. That continuous funding for Schomburg be guaranteed at a higher level, including funds from private sources now denied, as well as city, state and federal funds now denied.

8. That the present Board of Trustees, which is now self-elected, be expanded to include a majority of persons responsive to the N.Y.C. community and reflecting the ethnic and racial make up of N.Y.C., and to include Black and other Third World peoples on a proportional basis, as well as other workers, students, faculty members, and housewives.

9. That all racist attacks against the Schomburg Center cease.

The Citizens Coalition had earlier sent a telegram to Richard Couper, president of the NYPL and chairman of the board, requesting a meeting. The board, according to Mr. Couper's reply, refused to meet with the Citizens Coalition, claiming their agenda was too crowded.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

I-Hotel Supporters Picket S.F. Sheriff's Home

(San Francisco, Calif.) — Supporters of tenants in Chinatown's International Hotel (I-Hotel), the battleground in a heated eviction fight, picketed the home of San Francisco County Sheriff Richard Hongisto last week to protest his role as the enforcer of an unpopular court ruling ordering the tenants' ouster.

The protesters, organized by the Workers' Committee to fight for the International Hotel and Victory Building, filled the air with chants of "Hey, Hongisto, You Can't Hide — We Know You Are On Four Seas' Side."

The Four Seas Corporation is a Hong Kong-based firm which is seeking to vacate the I-Hotel and the adjacent Victory Building, both of which are inhabited by elderly Filipino and Chinese residents. Recent appeals by tenants to the California Supreme Court have been unsuccessful.

Commenting on Hongisto's role in the eviction, Paula Lang of the Asian Community Center, said:

"He rode to office on the fact that he is for working people and the oppressed, but when it really comes down to that, he doesn't live up to it. Whose side is he on? He has said that if he refused to evict the people, he would be giving the office back to a redneck sheriff. . .Well, how is he acting?"

PLIGHT

Hongisto, who is supposedly sympathetic of the plight of I-Hotel tenants, reflected in self-interest on Ms. Lang's statement:

"If I willfully disobey the court order, then I would be liable for charges of misconduct. . .or I would be in contempt of court. I have no intention of allowing that to happen to myself," Hongisto said. □

EYES ON CITY HALL

Cablecasting For City Meetings Proposed By O.C.C.U.R.

The Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR) and Oakland Media, two independent, nonprofit, nonpartisan public interest groups, held a press conference last week to release a joint report on the feasibility of cablecasting public meetings, such as City Council sessions.

Since the fall of 1975 OCCUR and Oakland Media have studied the advantages of making public meetings available for public viewing at convenient times. A press release released by OCCUR and Oakland Media states that, "For citizens to participate fully in the decision-making of city government, cablecasting of meetings would give citizens a greater opportunity to see their government in action. When citizens are *not* adequately informed, they cannot be involved in government."

At the press conference OCCUR president Sally Sprague called for immediate cablecasting of City Council meetings over Focus Channel 13, with other public meetings to be telecast eventually. Ms. Sprague pointed out that this idea has been discussed for over three years with various city officials who agreed with its feasibility and relatively low cost ($250 per meeting).

It was also brought out at the press conference that the city of Oakland and the Oakland School Board already have 60 hours per week of franchise time contracted with Focus, most of which is not being utilized at all by the city. Ironically, the Oakland City Council has gone on record as being against the removal of this franchise time by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

Ms. Sprague pointed out that the issue was to be brought before the City Council and that she was confident that the cablecasting would be approved.

When this proposal was brought to the Council previously some City Council members gave vague reasons such as it would "hurt the dignity" of the traditionally conservative Council.



The UFW scored a victory in contract negotiations last week, ending a boycott of Dole products.

U.F.W. Ends Dole Boycott

Forces Food Company To Bargain In "Good Faith"

(Ventura, Calif.) — The United Farm - Workers (UFW) Union scored a victory here last week in its contract negotiations with West Foods, Inc., ending a nationwide boycott of Dole products.

The boycott against Dole, through which West Foods markets its mushroom products, began when the firm refused to agree to UFW demands throughout 26 negotiating sessions.

After a marathon 44-hour negotiating session last week, an accord was reached. It came one week after 210 West Foods workers had gone on strike, vowing to stay off the job until the company "began to negotiate in good faith."

According to UFW negotiator Elisio Median, under the new contract general laborers at West Foods will now be paid $3.30 an hour. Previous wages started at $2.50 an hour and went to $2.95 after the first year.

LOSING BATTLE

From 1970 to 1975 the workers at West Foods had a contract with the Teamsters Union, which is fighting a losing battle for the right to represent California agricultural laborers. However, a year ago, in one of the first elections held under the state of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act, the UFW defeated the Teamsters in a representation vote by a margin of 136 to 39.

After this vote the UFW was certified as the sole bargaining agent for West Foods workers. □

SECRETARY OF STATE TO VISIT TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, S. AFRICA

BLEAK OUTLOOK FOR KISSINGER'S "SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY"

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) Faced with hostility and suspicion by Black African leaders on the one hand and, on the other, with the White Rhodesian regime's refusal to accept majority rule, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's second round of "shuttle diplomacy" in southern Africa this week seems doomed to failure.

The U.S. diplomat — whom it is widely believed is on his way out as secretary of state even if President Ford wins the November election — was scheduled to arrive here on Tuesday, September 14, for two days of talks with Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. After meeting on Thursday with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Kissinger was to travel to Pretoria, South Africa, for a weekend round of negotiations with the apartheid government's "prime minister," John Vorster.

GERMAN-BORN SECRETARY

The German-born secretary of state wll be the highest-ranking U.S. official in history to visit South Africa, which is notorious throughout the world for its repressive racial policies.

Although Ford pronounced his blessing for the latest Kissinger African voyage, the crafty diplomat only gave himself a 50-50 chance of success in persuading all parties concerned to accept a three-point U.S.-British plan for peacefully accomplishing majority rule in Rhodesia (see articles, page 18) along with similar proposals for Namibia (South West Africa). The Vorster regime continues to illegally rule the territory despite United Nations demands calling for immediate majority rule.



HENRY KISSINGER (second from left), and South African "Prime Minister" JOHN VORSTER (third from right), meet in Zurich, Switzerland. Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" is doomed in Africa as the struggle for majority rule intensifies.

The Kissinger "shuttle" was preceded by a cloud of suspicion. The controversy arose over whether the secretary of state was making the trip on his own initiative or as the result of an invitation from the presidents of Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana who met here last week to devise new strategies for stepping up the armed liberation struggle in southern Africa. (See article, page 19.)

Following the conclusion of Kissinger's talks with Vorster in Zurich, Switzerland, the State Department announced that President Nyerere had invited Kissinger to renew his efforts at peacefully resolving the problems of southern Africa. However a spokesperson for the Tanzanian leader denied the invitation, saying, "He (Kissinger) is not coming at our invitation. He asked to come and we said, 'Come along.' " Asked if there was any communication from the five presidents sent to Kissinger, the spokesperson replied, "There was absolutely none."

Even moderate African leaders like President Kaunda are pessimistic about U.S. efforts in the African subcontinent. Kaunda was quoted as saying that Kissinger is "groping in the dark." The Zambian president also is said to have told Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs William Schaufele — who last week consulted with several Black African leaders in preparation for the Kissinger mission — that America has been "double-dealing" in southern Africa and that, "Now we (Black Africans) fight."

Robert Mugabe, political chief of the Mozambique-based Zimbabwe Liberation Army (ZILA), which is spearheading the armed struggle against the Smith regime, declared that U.S. involvement in southern African affairs is "unfortunate" and that Kissinger is creating "all kinds of false hopes and impressions."

The *Tanzanian Daily News* said of the Kissinger trip, "Perhaps the word 'containment' best summarizes the new U.S. policy. By attempting to manage the emergence of majority rule in Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the U.S. is trying to steer that nationalism in a moderate direction."

Indeed, Black African leaders are critical of American foreign policy in southern Africa because of the fear that pro-Western puppet Black governments in Rhodesia and Namibia will as-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Psychosurgery Given O.K.

(Washington, D.C.) - A government-appointed commission recommended last week that brain operations called psychosurgery be permitted to continue on a research basis with supposedly "strict safeguards" for the rights and welfare of patients.

Abandonment of the practice of psychosurgery has been a growing political issue in recent years — especially its curtailment in prisons and mental institutions, where there have been instances in which the treatment has been forced upon unwilling patients.

Critics contend that after psychosurgery, victims become little more than "living robots," and that the decision to remove the frontal lobes of so-called "aggressive" persons is subjective and arbitrary.

Despite this, the National Commission for the Protection of Human Biomedical Behavioral Research, which was set up by Congress two years ago to advise the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare on various ethical issues, has concluded that the brain operation has potential merit, the *New York Times* reports.

TEXAS FARM WORKERS UNION LAUNCHES INTENSE ORGANIZING CAM

Focus On Both Sides Of Border For Gre ength

(San Juan, Texas) - Organizers from the Texas Farm Workers Union (TFWU) have launched an intensive organizing effort among Chicano (Mexican-American) and Mexican workers who are demanding their right to unionize.

The center of TFWU activity is in the state's easternmost counties along the Rio Grande border — Hidalgo, Willacy and Cameron. The land here is rich, producing millions of dollars worth of citrus fruit, melons and vegetables. It is farmed by growers who own huge plantations. The Chicano and Mexican workers who cross the border — both legally and illegally — work on these farms for low wages, living in abject poverty and without political rights.

The last few years, the *Guardian* reports, have brought about a major increase in the militancy and level of organization of Texas farm workers. In this area, known as El Valle, TFWU organizing drives, sporadic strikes and confrontations with rich growers are becoming regular occurrences.

PAST ATTEMPTS

TFWU, unlike past attempts at farm worker unionization, is organizing people on both sides of the border. Most of the workers at the height of the harvest season come across the Rio Grande River to border towns where labor contractors, called "torqueros," hire them for a day's work. In the past, growers used Mexican workers to break the strikes of Chicanos in the U.S., but now the workers from Mexico are actively supporting the TFWU.

At a border crossing point, union organizers blast over a loud-speaker to Mexican workers, "We have to unite. Here at this bridge is where most mistrust exists. There is only one way that we can struggle to change the life of a farm worker—organizing ourselves, uniting ourselves, talking together and joining the union so that the union can keep working.

"We are working for a state law that will favor farm workers and give them the right to collective bargaining with the companies," the organizers declare.

The growing militancy of Texas farm workers was at a high point in 1966-67 when, in a massive protest, a series of strikes was



The TFWU is making an intense effort to organize Chicano and Mexican farmworkers in Texas.

organized by workers. The 1966-67 strikes were broken with violent repression and scab workers from Mexico.

In the harvest months of 1976, this struggle has continued with a strike at Shargland Farms. According to Adolfo Villarreal, a farm worker, "It's hard to support a family of nine on $89 a week."

His brother, Jesus, with a family of 13, commented that he participated in the strike "to support my fellow workers. . .We must unite to help ourselves."

The average annual family income in El Valle is $3,216, the second lowest in the United States. All of the workers are subject to the kickbacks and cheating of the "torqueros."

The rate of disease among the farm workers is 200-250 per cent higher than the national average. The life expectancy of a farm worker is 49 years while the infant mortality rate in this area is 125 per cent above the national average.

"Texas is the key," says TFWU organizer Jorge Zaragosa. "When we organize Texas, we can organize any state in the union. Many of the workers in California and from other places, thousands and thousands, come from El Valle."

Speaking before a rally of Mexican workers in Rio Bravo, Mexico, to organize support for the union, TFWU leader Antonio Orendain explained, "Under the present system it is a divide-and-conquer philosophy that tries to separate workers of the U.S. and Mexico. . .You are poor in Mexico; we are poor in the U.S. We are both exploited by the rich and the government. It also true that these governments are fronts for the rich. In both countries there is a 'free enterprise' system exploiting the poor of these nations."□

N.Y. Mob Goes On Rampage

(New York, N.Y.) — A gang of 10 White racist thugs was arrested last week after they went on a rampage, brutally attacking Black and Latino people in Greenwich Village's famed Washington Square Park for no apparent reason.

A mob of 20 to 50 White males ran through the park using sticks, bats and pipes to indiscriminately attack any Black or Latino person in sight. As a result of their savagery, 13 people were hospitalized, one of whom is in critical condition due to severe head injuries.

"We were sitting down having fun as usual and these kids jumped up and started hitting us," said Dijuan Philyan, who suffered a fractured collar bone and a cut eye. "They kept using the words, 'Niggers, get out,' " he recalled.

The White youths were charged with reckless endangerment, assault and unlawful assem Despite obvious evidence to the contrary, police are attempting to claim that the incident was not racially motivated.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Dangerous Nuclear Hazard

(Washington, D.C.) - A prominent nuclear energy expert has concluded in a 172-page report that the high level of radioactive waste scattered throughout the U.S. represents a major health hazard. Mason Willnick, a visiting Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor, said that the federal government's past handling of radioactive material had been "marred in a sufficient number of instances to be a cause for concern."

Indians Guard Calif. River

(Klamath, Calif.) - Yurok Indians maintained their rope-and-net barricade across California's Klamath River last week, ignoring a court order to reopen the stream to sports fishermen. The blockade is the latest development in a dispute that began on August 20 when the Yuroks charged that campers along the river were trespassing on Indian land. The militant Indians are keeping guard on the river and "trying to fish the way our ancestors did," said Margaret Carlson, a Yurok representative.

Blacks Seize Harlem Building

(New York, N.Y.) - A Harlem-based labor organization, Fight Back, last week took over a city-owned abandoned building to protest the failure of government officials to renovate it. "There are 22,000 city-owned housing units, structurally sound, locked up or boarded up in Central Harlem," said James Haughton, head of the group. With the help of contractors, Fight Back hopes to have the building ready for occupancy in two months. Haughton commented, "We have men out of work and people needing housing."

Racists Riot In Louisville

(Louisville, Ky.) - Youthful White antibusing protesters held a violent demonstration here this week during which 22 people were arrested. The demonstration marked the first anniversary of the riots that swept the Louisville area last year, sparked by a federal court order to desegregate local schools through busing.

N.A.A.C.P. Fights $1.2 Million Boycott Settlement

(Port Gibson, Miss.) — Black protesters have reinstituted a boycott of White merchants here in response to a $1.2 million court-ordered settlement of a suit filed against the NAACP and others who had led a demonstration against the racist businessmen in the 1960s.

Mississippi judge George William Haynes recently declared the NAACP boycott illegal and ordered the organization to pay $1.2 million in damages to 12 White merchants.

Charles Evers, mayor of nearby Fayette and a leading figure in the '60s boycott as state NAACP field secretary, is leading the new boycott to force the businessmen to drop the suit.

The Port Gibson boycott, which started in 1966, lasted for three years. It was used as a civil rights weapon to force White Mississippi leaders to accept Black demands for jobs and political power. The protest was lifted in 1969 only after Blacks began to win political offices.

The court order by Judge Haynes is damaging to the national finances of the NAACP, with $1.5 million in cash to be posted by October 3 to stay the execution of the order while the case is appealed to the Supreme Court.

"They're trying to break us economically," Evers charged. "I'm not going to pay them a penny."□



Black protesters endured high pressure water hoses in the civil rights struggle of the 1960s.

"MANY FINGERS ON THE TRIGGER"

F.B.I. INVOLVEMENT IN DR. KING MURDER CONSPIRACY DETAILED

(Memphis, Tenn.) - Recent information has provided startling new proof that the FBI was involved in both Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination and its cover-up.

Revelations of a massive FBI campaign to harass and discredit King have provided the final crystalization of a long-standing disbelief in the lone assassin theory touted by the U.S. Department of Justice and the FBI. According to Mark Lane, director of the Citizens Commission of Inquiry, there is no doubt "that Dr. King's assassination was the result of a conspiracy; and that persons associated with the FBI took decisive actions before the murder which had the effect of permitting the assassin, after he killed Dr. King, to leave the scene undetected; and that those in the FBI who said that they wanted Dr. King to die were then given the responsibility by the United States government with conducting the entire investigation into his death."

Members of Congress, particularly the Black Caucus, are now considering this information and may demand in the near future a full-scale, independent investigation.

Recently, Mark Lane interviewed Arthur Murtagh, a former FBI agent who retired after more than 20 years with the Bureau. He had worked for many years in the FBI's Atlanta office.

According to Murtagh, "The number two desk in that office, the intelligence squad, was charged with the responsibility of destroying Dr. King. There were eight men on that squad and their total objective in life was to somehow or other get King, to bring him down, break him or destroy him."



Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING (center) led a bitter struggle against Southern racism before his murder. New evidence points to FBI involvement in his assassination.

It was the Atlanta-based intelligence squad that arranged for the illegal wiretaps, the letter suggesting that King commit suicide and many other "dirty tricks."

The intelligence squad "viewed King as much an enemy of the country as they viewed Khrushchev...this group in the Bureau was out to get King and there was great camaraderie among them," Murtagh said. "They said to me many, many, many times that they would get King." It was this intelligence squad that Hoover assigned to investigate King's death.

On April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., was murdered. According to the official account he had been assassinated by a lone gunman, James Earl Ray.

Ray escaped from a Missouri prison in April, 1967, and traveled extensively throughout the U.S., Canada and Mexico, spending large sums of money. Then, inexplicably, he suddenly decided in early April, 1968, to assassinate King.

Ray, according to the FBI, arrived in Memphis early in the morning of April 4 and rented a room across the street from where King was staying. Around 6 p.m. that day he fired one shot from the bathroom of his second story room, hitting King who was standing on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel across the street. He then ran out of the rooming house and fled in his white Mustang.

This inept five-time loser, we are to believe, was then able to elude the FBI for over two months, somehow securing three passports and thousands of dollars. He was finally picked up in England at London's Heathrow airport.

To nail down their theory of a lone assassin, then U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark declared in a press conference less than a day after the killing that there was absolutely "no evidence of conspiracy."

Very few people believed the story even then. King's father immediately declared: "No one man took my son's life." Coretta King called for a full investigation, saying: "There were many fingers on the trigger."

Ray himself told a much different story until he was "convinced" to plead guilty. His lawyer, Percy Forman, said Ray would get a "sure" death sen-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

K.K.K. Holds Cross-Burning Convention

(Stone Mountain, Ga.) - Over 200 Ku Klux Klansmen from 17 states recently gathered here for a cross-burning convention at the foot of Stone Mountain, the legendary home of the white-hooded band.

Carrying signs like "Down With Forced Busing" and "Down With The NAACP," the Klansmen listened to racist, inflammatory speeches by Imperial Wizard James Venable and "grand dragons" from eight other states.

Pointing out some of the Klan's distrust of Democratic Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter, Venable said, "He (Carter) said he was against busing, yet a few months ago he said this was the greatest law that ever passed. Can you trust him?"

William Morrison, Tennessee's grand dragon, said, "I'd like for him and his daughter, Amy, and all the niggers she goes to school with, to stay down there on their peanut farm in Georgia."

ATLANTA WELFARE RIGHTS GROUP BLOCKS A.F.D.C. CU[illegible]ACKS

Angry Recipients Force Restoration Of $10 [illegible] or Blind And Aged

(Atlanta, Ga.) — The board of Georgia's Department of Human Resources (DHR) recently backed down from cutting $6 million in funding for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) after hundreds of protesters, for the third time in as many months, picketed the DHR and jammed a board meeting to press their demands.

The day before, when confront-by another militant delegatioin, the board agreed to restore $10 million in dental and eye care funding for the aged and blind. Georgia Governor George Busbee had taken that $10 million away from the aged and blind in 1975 legislation.

In 1976, Georgia began the year with the lowest welfare payments in the U.S. in relation to per capita income. Still, Gov. Busbee has been calling for further welfare cutbacks. However, his proposed cuts have been met with numerous protests led by the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO).

Busbee had attempted to cut the checks for over half of the state's AFDC recipients by an average of $12 a month. In addition, he ordered all welfare aid for another 3,000 families cut off entirely while having payments cut from 65 per cent of need down to 58 per cent.

WELFARE RIGHTS

According to Georgia welfare rights advocate Rev. Austin Ford, "One hundred per cent of 'need' as defined by the state of Georgia (and approved by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare) is only $40 a month for rent, $1.50 for lights and so on. It has no relation to reality."

Meanwhile, immediately after the funding for AFDC was restored, the DHR board announced that the state budget would be balanced by cutting $6 million from Medicaid prescription drug subsidies. However, demonstrators warned that they would continue to fight for decent medical care and for twice as much money for AFDC beneficiaries.

Gov. Busbee and his political allies in banking and agribusiness are blaming the current "economic crisis" and inflation on "social programs" like relief for the aged, social security and welfare, while ignoring the huge concessions granted to large corporations.



Welfare mothers are organizing to fight back against widespread cutbacks in checks and vital social services.

A Georgia state employee pointed out to a *Workers World* reporter that, "The combined struggle of employed and unemployed workers forced the U.S. government to establish welfare and social security programs in 1935. A primary objective of that struggle was to prevent starving unemployed workers from being pitted as scabs against union organizing. . .Any attempt to cut back welfare now is crippling organized labor also."

Mrs. Ethel Matthews, the Atlanta chairperson of the NWRO, stated, "Our victory was only through coming together demonstrating together, since last year. We're unified around the children, all children, regardless of race, creed or sex. That's what we're fighting for; the rights of all children and mothers not to go without bread this winter.

"...Just because we won this victory, just because we got a tiny piece of the pie, we can't stop now. We got to keep on fighting. We got to be stronger and even more unified than we have been."□

Bleak Future For Black Youth

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Lucy Brown, director of the North Richmond Neighborhood House, a facility which serves many of the educational and social needs of that predominantly Black community, cites a lack of career and skills counseling in schools as an underlying reason for Black teenage unemployment.

"To be real about it, half of the young people who need jobs can't read. The schools are killing our kids."



Black youths face a nation[illegible] unemployment rate that [illegible]as reached crisis proportions.

Ms. Brown also recognizes that Black youth, unlike Whites, cannot fall back on their families for employment guidance.

"Their Black families are trying to make a living," she told reporter Howze. "What can the father who is unemployed say to his son who comes and asks him where to go for a job."

In the meanwhile, Black youths are becoming increasingly frustrated and bitter as they pound the pavement.

"We are led to believe that if you work hard and pick up skills, you'll get and keep a job," said Dianne Coleman, a 20-year-old student who hopes to become a surgical nurse.

"They don't tell us it's who you know, not what you know."

"I don't want to be a janitor," said one 18-year-old as he leaned up against a wall in a neighborhood park.

"So why even try."□

Schomburg Center

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

At 5:00 p.m. a delegation of ten people representing the Black community and including members of the Schomburg staff, labor organizations, and scholars went to room 206 where the Board of Trustees was meeting. As they left the room, the delegation confronted the members of the Board with a list of the demands of the Citizens Coalition.

At 6:00 the delegation returned to meet with Mr. Couper, director of the Research Libraries, John Cory, and Board member John Gutfreund. The delegation included John Henrik Clarke, Afro-American history professor, Larry Holmes, chairman of the Center for United Labor Action, Henry Foner, head of the joint board of the Fur, Leather and Machinist Union, Dennis Serrette, president of the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and four present and past members of the Schomburg staff.



Black woman and child pick cotton in old photo of the South.

At this meeting the delegation again presented their demands. Dr. Clarke, who headed up the delegation, told the NYPL's administrators: "When you want to destroy a community, the first thing you destroy are its institutions," and that is what the NYPL is doing through its discriminatory actions against the Schomburg Center.

Meanwhile outside the library on 5th Avenue the members and supporters of the Citizens Coalition continued to picket with signs that told the thousands of passersby: "Keep the Schombury in Harlem," "Save Black Culture," "Stop The War Against Black America," "Say No To Racism," and "Stop Cultural Genocide."□



Inmates line up in Attica courtyard after massacre by state troopers in 1971.

N.Y. Corrections Commission Director Fired For Exposing Attica Conditions

(Albany, N.Y.) - The chief of the New York State Commission of Correction, Scott Christianson, was fired last week as a result of his recent report that termed the conditions at Attica State Prison "just as bad, perhaps worse" than before the famed 1971 revolt.

Christianson has revealed that since his report on the stifling conditions at Attica was disclosed in the *New York Times* in late July, New York Governor Hugh Carey, through Robert Morgada, state operations director and David Burke, the governor's secretary, has assumed tight control over the Commission.

"They don't want to improve conditions in the prison," Christianson stated. "They don't want anything done except to keep things quiet. They don't want to be blamed for what can happen, what probably will happen," he said

Christianson added that his dismissal marked the beginning of a purge of people brought into the Commission by its interim chairman, Herman Schwartz. An assistant to the Commission, June License, who wrote a report criticizing the grievance procedures in the state's prison, resigned before the Commission director's dismissal — just after the five-day strike at Attica over long-standing grievances and the treatment of inmates.

"TOO INDEPENDENT"

Christianson, who is 29 years old, said it was "relayed to me that they thought I was too independent. . .they learned that I had been an investigative reporter, and they knew I wouldn't keep the lid on.

"I have no illusions about the prison system," he went on, "nor any illusions about politics in Albany (the state capital). But I knew I wouldn't go along with their gag order. They know it."□

A DISQUIETING LOOK AT THE JIMMY CARTER NON-CAMPAIGN

BEHIND THE SMILE

The following is Part 5 of an exclusive, behind-the-scenes account of Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter written by Bob Shrum, a former speechwriter for the Georgia peanut farmer, who quit after nine days of hypocrisy and lies.

PART 5

We landed. I called Caddell from a pay phone. I'd had it. What was this character all about? He would have vetoed child care. Were we trying to re-elect Ford under another name? Pat asked me to "please talk with Jody and Jimmy."

I spent half of a two-hour flight to Memphis with Jody. I didn't have to explain my reactions. Caddell had reached him before we took off. On defense spending, Powell didn't know — it "could be" that Carter favored an increase, or wanted to be "flexible." On coal mine safety, well, Carter had a mineowner "friend" in Virginia. That's why Carter said the week before that Udall's stripmining bill was too strong. But he "clarified" his position later the same day.

Jody was complimentary, cool and solicitous. It would be "terrible" if I left. Carter and I should have a "long talk" on the flight back from Memphis. Jody wouldn't tell Carter I might quit; it would "upset Jimmy too much." He would just "tell a fib" that I was "unclear about a few things."

During the layover in Memphis, I bought the *Press-Scimitar.* The lead story was that Ford had reversed Kissinger and announced that the U.S. would refuse to consider normalizing relations with Vietnam, even in return for a full accounting of the missing in action. I drafted a statement for the news conference the next morning condemning the President for caving in to Reagan, who was exploiting Vietnam policy as an issue in the Texas primary.



Presidential candidate JIMMY CARTER has displayed two-faced qualities in his ruthless drive to power.

Flying from Memphis to Johnstown, I spent an hour in the "business seat" next to Carter. He accepted the Vietnam release with hardly a comment. He didn't say, "Clear it with Brzezinski," which surprised Stu Eizenstat when I told him later.

Suddenly Carter smiled. He obviously was aware of my disaffection, if not its degree. He answered questions before I could ask them. He "likes" McGovern; he "admires" him. I wouldn't have asked about that. On black lung and child care: "I just don't want to talk about congressional legislation, even if I favor it."

The conversation was easy, plausible, persuasive. Carter's manner recalled his attitude during our meeting at the Madison Hotel. He glided into complimenting me. I wrote "well"; he felt "comfortable" with my style. After Pennsylvania, he wanted two releases a day and a "serious" speech every seven to ten days. The speeches should focus on "theme" topics like the Presidency, not on "programs or issues as such."

He stopped. Was that it? I raised the defense budget. Carter stopped smiling. He fixed me in his gaze; he sounded sincere, almost solemn. "I don't have any doubt there's waste there which can be cut out. I've talked it over with Admiral Rickover and he's told me about it."

NOTHING MORE

Nothing more. It wasn't much, but I wanted it to be enough. Carter's explanations didn't explain his earlier comments. That black lung benefits, for instance, were "too controversial," "too radical"; that he "would have vetoed" child care. I didn't ask about "Christians" or mass transit. I didn't know how to phrase it right: "Are you a liar, Governor?" I didn't push on defense. I didn't want to make threats or give an ideological litmus test. I didn't want to think about it at all. Jody that night in Johnstown: "Is everything okay?" I said yes. I hoped I meant it.

Carter read the Vietnam statement at the morning press conference in Johnstown. David Broder of the *Washington Post* asked for other examples of Ford

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Cornelia Wallace Bugs George's Bedroom

(Montgomery, Ala.) — As an act of apparent revenge, Alabama Governor George Wallace's wife ordered her husband's bedroom telephone to be tapped after she learned that he had her under surveillance, it was revealed here last week.

Quoting "highly reliable sources," the *Montgomery Advertiser* said when Mrs. Cornelia Wallace, 37, listening to the tapes, heard the arch-segregationist governor make derogatory remarks about her to some of his longtime lady friends, she consulted a divorce lawyer. Wallace is also said to have talked to a lawyer about divorce after he learned that his wife was recording his calls. The nature of the surveillance on Mrs. Wallace was not disclosed.

The existence of the bedroom tapping device had long been rumored when the 57-year-old Wallace confirmed it last week. He refused to discuss specifics of the matter, saying only that it is "a domestic matter between my wife and myself." Both Wallace and his wife deny recent reports that their marriage has fallen apart. Last month, reports were broadcast that Mrs. Wallace had left the governor's mansion and was no long[illegible]g with Wallace, who has been paralyzed below the waist [illegible] he was shot while campaigning for President in 1972.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Aftermath"

In the conclusion of the chapter "Aftermath" from Revolutionary Suicide, *Black Panther leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton finds himself incarcerated in San Quentin Prison. Also, this week we begin the chapter "Strategy."*

PART 67

In light of this, I was able to stand back a little and consider my own death. The Black Panther Party had been formed in the spirit of Malcolm; we strove for the goals he had set for himself. When Black people saw Black Panthers being killed not only by police but also by the judicial system, they would feel the circle closing around them and take another step forward. In this sense, my death would not be meaningless.

After fifteen days in I[illegible]-Alameda Hospital my condition improved, and I was transferred to the medical unit on Death Row in San Quentin. Officially I was there for my own protection. When the ambulance neared Quentin, the police told me to take a good look at its walls because I was going to be inside them a long, long time. As my gurney rolled through the halls of San Quentin toward Death Row, one by one the guards called ahead, "Dead man, dead man, dead man." No prisoner is allowed to talk to a man bound for Death Row.

The hospital tank at Quentin is right next door to the psychotic ward. While my cell was well secured—it had three locks—most of the psychotic cells were left open because those inmates became restless in a small space. Out in the hall there were things to keep them occupied—weight-lifting equipment, a card table and chairs, some games.

MENTAL CASES

One of the mental cases was a Chicano named, I think, Robilar. Robilar and I hit it off because he identified with the Muslims, and so did I. All day he would stand outside my cell playing his guitar and singing to me and saying, "Don't you worry now; everything's going to be all right."

Robilar had been in and out of prison all his life. This time the beef was murdering a former cellmate. Like me, he had defended himself and lost the case, but the death sentence had been overturned when Robilar was declared incompetent to defend himself. After that, he was brought to the Quentin psychotic ward and locked up. There, he tried to cut his wrists, so they left his cell open and made him a trusty. Robilar liked to see the doctors dress my wound, and when they came and removed the bandages, he would move from one end of the bed to the other and hover over the doctors, chattering with excitement.

On my third day at Quentin a new man, a White, was placed in the cell next to mine. We never learned his name, but we knew he was scheduled for release in six months. All that day Robilar sang to me, and when night came he slipped into the new man's cell and slit his throat and smashed his skull with a weight-lifting dumbbell. Then he went back into his own cell and sang over and over:

Hang down your head Tom Dooley,
Hang down your head and cry;
Poor boy you're bound to die.
Hang down your head Tom Dooley,

He was still singing when I fell asleep about ten. Although it happened right next door, I never knew, and neither did anybody else, until the guards found the new man dead in his bunk the next morning. Robilar was finally declared incurably insane. It was his seventh murder; his fourth in prison; all the other prison murders had been cellmates.

After two weeks in San Quentin I was well enough to leave. They had carried me in, but I walked out, and from Quentin they took me to the Alameda County Jail in downtown Oakland, where I had been before. This time I was to stay there eleven months, before and during my trial.





The trial of Huey P. Newton received nationwide support. Black Panther Party members and youth are shown in 1968 "Free Huey" rally at the Alameda County Courthouse.

"Strategy"

"The hypocrisy of American fascism forces it to conceal its attack on political offenders by the legal fiction of conspiracy laws and highly sophisticated frame-ups. The masses must be taught to understand the true function of prisons. Why do they exist in such numbers? What is the real underlying economic motive of crime and the official definition of types of offenders or victims? The people must learn that when one "offends" the totalitarian state, it is patently not an offense against the people of that state, but an assault upon the privilege of the privileged few."

George Jackson, *Blood in My Eye*

On November 13, 1967, the Alameda County grand jury returned an indictment against me. I was accused of three felonies: the murder of Patrolman John Frey; the assault of Patrolman Herbert Heanes with a deadly weapon; the kidnapping of a Black man named Dell Ross near the scene of the crime, which included my forcing him to drive me in his car to another part of the city. This is supposedly how I got to Kaiser Hospital. Dell Ross testified before the grand jury that I and another man had climbed into his car, pointed a gun at him, and told him to drive us to the hospital. But before we arrived at the hospital, he testified, we had jumped out of the car and disappeared into the night.

GRAND JURY

Evidence presented to the grand jury included the bullet taken from Patrolman Heanes's knee, Heanes's revolver, two nine-millimeter cartridge cases that had been found in the street, two matchboxes containing marijuana found under the seat of the car I had been driving, various photographs of the cars at the scene, and a Xerox of the Kaiser Hospital records of my emergency treatment. Patrolman Heanes's gun was the only waepon found at the scene; the nine-millimeter casings were not fired from it.

TO BE CONTINUED

QUOTATIONS FROM THE RED BOOK

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The Red Book, "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung," has become an invaluable source of inspiration and understanding for millions of people throughout the world. Capsulized quotes burst forth from each page as kernels of enlightenment, as guides to action, above all, from one of history's greatest revolutionary thinkers and practitioners. Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents selected excerpts from the Red Book, a glimpse of the shining genius of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The Communist Party

If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.

A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.

We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing.

Classes And Class Struggle

Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.

It is up to us to organize the people. As for the reactionaries in China, it is up to us to organize the people to overthrow them. Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.

Socialism And Communism

Taken as a whole, the Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party embraces the two stages, i.e., the democratic and the socialist revolutions, which are two essentially different revolutionary processes, and the second process can be carried through only after the first has been completed. The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolu[illegible]ultimate aim for which all communists [illegible]o bring about a socialist and communis[illegible].

The Correct Handling Of Contradictions Among The People

Qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods. For instance, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is resolved by the method of socialist revolution; the contradiction between the great masses of the people and the feudal system is resolved by the method of democratic revolution; the contradiction between the colonies and imper-



ialism is resolved by the method of national revolutionary war; the contradiction between the working class and the peasant class in socialist society is resolved by the method of collectivization and mechanization in agriculture; contradiction within the Communist Party is resolved by the method of criticism and self-criticism; the contradiction between society and nature is resolved by the method of developing the productive forces. . . .The principle of using different methods to resolve different contradictions is one which Marxist-Leninists must strictly observe.

War And Peace

War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions when they have developed to a certain stage between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the [illegible]ence of private property and of classes.

"War is the continuation of politics." In this sense war is politics and war itself is a political action; since ancient times there has never been a war that did not have a political character. . .

But war has its own particular characteristics and in this sense it cannot be equated with politics in general. "War is the continuation of politics by other. . .means." When politics develops to a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles from the way. . . When the obstacle is removed and our political aim attained, the war will stop. But if the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue till the aim is fully accomplished. . .It can therefore be said that politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed.

Every Communist must grasp the truth, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.

People all over the world are now discussing whether or not a third world war will break out. On this question, too, we must be mentally prepared and do some analysis. We stand firmly for peace and against war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards any disturbance: first, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it. The First World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism, and then there will not be much room left on earth for the imperialists; it is also likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again. . .till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious," we mean that its nature will nev r change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again. . .till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution.

Imperialism And All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF CHAIRMAN MAO

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

Dare To Struggle And Dare To Win

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.

If they (the Kuomintang) fight, we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction. China's problems are complicated, and our brains must also be a little complicated. If they start fighting, we fight back, fight to win peace.

People's War

What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China.

The People's Army

Without a people's army the people have nothing.

The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

Th[illegible]s Line

The peopl[illegible]eople alone, are the motive force [illegible]g of world history.

The masse[illegible] real heroes, while we ourselves are [illegible]ildish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.

To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however will-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise we shall isolate oursevles from the masses. Unless they are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a mere formality and will fail. . . . There are two principles here: one is the actual needs of the masses rather than what we fancy they need, and the other is the wishes of the masses, who must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them.

We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness.

Democracy In The Three Main Fields

Anyone should be allowed to speak out, whoever he may be, so long as he is not a hostile element and does not make malicious attacks, and it does not matter if he says something wrong. Leaders at all levels have the duty to listen to others. Two principles must be observed (1) Say all you know and say it without reserve; (2) Don't blame the speaker but take his words as a warning. Unless the principle of "Don't blame the speaker" is observed genuinely and not falsely, the result will not be "Say all you know and say it without reserve."

In the sphere of theory, destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. First, it should be pointed out that the danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. Next, it should be pointed out that the source of ultra-democracy consists in the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. When this characteristic is brought into the Party, it develops into ultra-[illegible]mocratic ideas politically and organization[illegible]y. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat.

Serving The People

Our point of departure is to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs the Party,



Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him.

Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected — that is what being responsible to the people means.

All men must die, but death can vary in significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, "Though death befall all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather." To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather.

Patriotism And Internationalism

In the fight for complete liberation the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty.

Revoluti[illegible] Heroism

Be resolute, f[illegible]ce and surmount every difficulty t[illegible]

Self-[illegible]nce And Arduous Struggle

There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

Methods Of Thinking And Methods Of Work

The history of mankind is one of continuous developments from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. In any society in which classes exist class struggle will never end. In classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong. They are wrong because they agree neither with the historical facts of social development over the past million years, nor with the historical facts of nature so far known to us (i.e., nature as revealed in the history of celestial bodies, the earth, life, and other natural phenomena).

The Marxist ph[illegible] of dialectical materialism has two [illegible]ding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice.

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment.

Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practicing) in its environment. . . . If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. . . . If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience.

If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by "failure is the mother of success" and "a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit."

It (materialist dialectics) holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. In a suitable temperature an egg changes into a chicken, but no temperature can change a stone into a chicken, because each has a different basis.

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute.

Investigation And Study

Everyone engaged in practical work must investigate conditions at the lower levels. Such investigation is especially necessary for those who know theory but do not know the actual conditions, for otherwise they will not be able to link theory with practice. Although my assertion, "No investigation, no right to speak", has been ridiculed as "narrow empiricism," to this day I do not regret having made it; far from regretting it, I still insist that without investigation there cannot possibly be any right to speak. There are many people who

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF CHAIRMAN MAO

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

"the moment they alight from the official carriage" make a hullabaloo, spout opinions, criticize this and condemn that; but, in fact, ten out of ten of them will meet with failure. For such views or criticisms, which are not based on thorough investigation, are nothing but ignorant twaddle. Countless times our Party suffered at the hands of these "imperial envoys," who rushed here, there and everywhere. Stalin rightly says that "theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice." And he rightly adds that "practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory." Nobody should be labelled a "narrow empiricist" except the "practical man" who gropes in the dark and lacks perspective and foresight.

Unity

This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula "unity, criticism, unity." To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. In our experience this is the correct method of resolving contradictions among the people.

Discipline

Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline.

Criticism And Self-Criticism

As we Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese people and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms? Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them — can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.

Communists

A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the mases than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist.



Youth

The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.

. . . .

The world belongs to you. China's future belongs to you.

Women

In order to build a great socialist society, it is of the utmost importance to arouse the broad masses of women to join in productive activity. Men and women must receive equal pay for equal work in production. Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of the so[illegible]st transformation of society as a whole.

Enable every woman who can work to take her place on the labor front, under the principle of equal pay for equal work. This should be done as quickly as possible.

Culture And Art

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine.

Study

The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems.

We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new.

THE EAST IS RED

"ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO"

(Peking, People's Republic of China) — Huge crowds of solemn workers, peasants, soldiers and students, numbering at times over 50,000, are gathering in Tien An Men Square here to honor and pay deep respect to their beloved leader Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and one of world history's greatest revolutionaries, who died early Thursday morning, September 12, at the age of 82.

The Chinese government has declared an official week of mourning for Chairman Mao, whose body lies in state, surrounded by flowers and partially covered by the red flag of the Chinese Communist Party, in the Great Hall of the People.

Somber mourners, led by Premier Hua Kou-feng and senior officals of the Central Committee, began to file slowly through the Great Hall last Sunday, stopping only to bow three times before the body of the late Chairman, whose audacious combination of revolutionary theory and practice has literally transformed the world, inspiring and guiding millions upon millions of oppressed peoples along the correct path to freedom and liberation. A wreath from Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, also a top-ranking Central Committee member, stands before the bier.

On Saturday, September 18, a final memorial rally will be held in Peking, and all of China's over 800 million people are b[eing] asked to stand at atten[tion] "wherever they are" for th[ree] minutes of silent meditatio[n] precisely at 3:00 p.m. that day. Simultaneously, sirens, whistles and bells on all factories, boats and trains will be sounded throughout the country.

No foreign leaders or government representatives will be invited to come to Peking during the period of mourning. Flags will be flown at half-mast throughout and all recreational activities will be suspended.



Militant Chinese woman soldier, one among the throngs of young people who poured into Peking's Tien An Men Square, clinched their fists and took the oath: "Beloved Chairman Mao, we commit ourselves to continue the struggle, always according to your teachings."



The death of Chinese leader MAO TSE-TUNG (portrait) has caused deep mourning in China.

Peking reports say that upon the announcement of Chairman Mao's death, great throngs of young people, many of them in tears and wearing black armbands, poured into the vast Tien An Men (Gate of the Heavenly Peace) Square, and stood in front of a huge portrait of the Chairman, where they clinched their fists and took oaths:

"Beloved Chairman Mao, we commit ourselves to continue the struggle, always according to your teachings."

Mao was an ardent believer in the concept of permanent revolution.

A single green flowered wreath, placed on the Martyrs Monument in the center of the famous Square — the site of the proclamation of the founding of the liberated territory, People's Republic of China, on October 1, 1949 — was soon surrounded by thousands of white flowers, offered in memory of the man whose unique brilliance and common devotion led the Chinese people through a half a century of tumultuous conflict.

The Monument bears an inscription in Mao's calligraphy reading, "The people's heroes are immortal."

On the streets outside the Square, a somber mood has fallen on this usually bustling capital, the air thick with the scent of cypress as inside their homes people weave wreaths.

Above the streets, quiet except for the dirge-like funeral music and "The International," the socialist anthem, echoing from loudspeakers, workmen fixed black shrouds to the many giant portraits of Mao spaced on walls

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

ACCEPTS U.S.-BRITISH FINANCIAL AID PLAN FOR RHODESIA

VORSTER TAKES TOUGH STAND ON APARTHEID



South African police move past burning tractor in Black "township" of Kwazakele.

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - South Africa will actively encourage neighboring White-ruled Rhodesia to accept majority (Black) rule, but remains strongly opposed to a similar development at home, the apartheid regime's "prime minister," John Vorster, reaffirmed last week. Meanwhile, Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith rejected the U.S.-British plan for achieving majority rule in the country (see article, this page) and a U.S. senator expressed skepticism that Congress would approve the key feature of the plan — financial compensation upwards of $1.5 billion to White settlers.

Following on the heels of his talks with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger the weekend before in Zurich, Switzerland, Vorster gave one of the toughest speeches of his political career during a National Party Congress at Bloemfontein in Orange Free State. The South African "prime minister" received a standing ovation from the crowd of 10,000 when he declared that "There will be no sharing of power" with non-Whites in South Africa.

Vorster made it clear that the U.S. was free to pursue its "shuttle diplomacy" in Rhodesia and Namibia but that South Africa's internal problems are no one's business.

"There are many aspects of our policy of which they (the U.S.) are critical," Vorster told the Bloemfontein crowd, "but just because one held talks with the leader of the Western world did not mean that one had to let oneself be prescribed to and not put forward one's own case. . ."

The speech was a grave disappointment to some "liberals" in the Nationalist Party who hoped that Vorster would announce major changes relaxing the country's strict segregation policies.

At a secret session the next day in Pretoria with 300 top members of the Nationalist Party, Vorster briefly discussed his talks with Kissinger. A party spokesperson said afterwards, "Because the caucus is not a policy-making body, no decisions have been taken or policies formulated."

Vorster also announced that he would meet sometime this week with Ian Smith. While diplomatic sources in London revealed that Vorster has agreed to the U.S.-British plan for Rhodesia calling for massive financial compensation to the Whites of the breakaway British colony, Smith said his government would not accept the terms of the Zurich agreement.

In an interview on NBC's *Today* show, Smith maintained that majority rule in Rhodesia would "be an invitation to a communist takeover." He said that more Blacks could come into his almost lily-White government but that they would have to be "the right sort of Black people."

Vorster and Kissinger are said to disagree over the role Smith would play in the transition to a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

U.S.-British Plan For Rhodesia

(Washington, D.C.) — The Ford administration, concerned over American economic losses in Rhodesia as well as alleged Russian and Cuban assistance to the freedom fighters seeking Black majority rule in the breakaway British colony, last week announced the three-point U.S.-British plan for ending the armed liberation struggle:

(1) An interim government would be created for one year or for however long it would take to draw up a new constitution establishing majority rule. The major concern of the constitutional conference would be provisions protecting the property and economic rights of the country's some 265,000 White settlers as well as guarantees preserving their political and civil rights.

(2) The U.S. would seek agreements from the presidents of Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Angola that they would gradually decrease their support of Black Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) nationalist forces, which are primarily based in Mozambique. U.S. officials conceded that the armed struggle will not wind down until the constitution is solidified.

(3) A substantial amount of international development assistance would be sought to train Zimbabweans in running the government and other managerial positions. America, along with the European Common Market, would make the initial commitment of funds.

It has been reported that from $1.5 to $2 billion would be offered to Rhodesian Whites to help those who choose to leave the country or those who decide to stay and sell their assets to the new Black government.



AFRICA IN FOCUS

Mozambique

The government of the People's Republic of Mozambique recently issued a decree declaring its sovereignty over the economic resources in a 200 nautical mile maritime (sea) zone. The decree was published in the government newspaper *Noticias*.

South Africa & Israel

The 18-member United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid last week unanimously endorsed a report charging South Africa and Israel with "ever closer collaboration." The report concluded that ties between the two racist governments have historical roots which have intensified in recent years since Black African states have broken diplomatic relations with Israel because of its aggression against the Palestinian people.

Namibia

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia has intensified its military attacks from Angola's southern border against South African police and military forces stationed there, *Pacific News Service* reports. As the result of renewed support from People's Angola, SWAPO recently opened two new posts in Luanda and Mocamedes, Angola, through which an increased supply of arms and ammunition for the Namibian liberation organization is expected to flow in the coming months. SWAPO freedom fighters are receiving training and supplies from both Angolan and Cuban troops stationed in southern Angola.

Rhodesia

Increasing victories by Black liberation forces have forced the White minority government of Rhodesia to enact major increases in its military budget and armed forces, *Hsinhua* news agency reports. The financial minister of the country recently submitted the 1976-77 fiscal budget to parliament in which defense accounts for 12 per cent of total expenditures, a 40.1 per cent increase over last year. Servicemen's pay and allowances have increased by 176.1 per cent, the largest rise in the military budget. The size of the Rhodesian security forces rose by 60 per cent at the beginning of this year.

TWO COLORED CAPETOWN PROTESTERS MURDERED IN WHITE BACK

(Cape Town, South Africa) — White vigilantes shot and killed two Colored protesters here last Saturday, bringing the unofficial death toll at week's end to 32, following five days of bloody confrontations between White police and Colored students who are demanding the end of racially discriminatory policies against South Africans of mixed racial heritage.

Hoping to halt the increasingly militant protests of the large Colored population of this southern coastal city, the local government announced several minor concessions, none of which meet the extensive demands of the Colored protesters, including representation in the national government.

Among the changes granted by Cape Town officials were provisions allowing more freedom for Colored and Indian businessmen to operate in areas previously reserved for Whites; the ending of separate entrances for Whites and Colored in public buildings; and promises for improved facilities for Coloreds in hospitals and courtrooms.

Meanwhile, in Soweto "township" outside Johannesburg, one Black man was killed and another wounded last week by policemen who said the two men were trying to sabotage a railroad line. Two charred bodies were found in the ruins of a hostel for migrant Zulu workers allegedly burned by Soweto protesters.



Soweto residents drag away dead man killed by South African riot police.

Cape Town's latest round of demonstrations began on Tuesday, September 7. Colored students led protests throughout the Cape Town area during which four youths were killed by police shotgun and revolver fire. Local officials ordered all high schools closed until Monday, September 13.

Demonstrations were also reported in Stellenbosch and in the Colored "townships" of Athlone and Crawford where students stoned the cars of White motorists.

No serious injuries were reported in Cape Town on Wednesday, September 8. However, dozens of arrests were made when police used shotguns and tear gas after a charge with clubs failed to disperse hundreds of Colored demonstrators in a central city square.

In the Colored "township" of Ravensmead outside Cape Town, crowds blocked a street with stones, chunks of concrete, oil drums and blazing fires. Protests were also reported in the predominantly White area of Tierulei in the Black suburb of Guguletu, where Black residents stoned cars and buses. At the Colored University of the Western Cape, riot police attacked a crowd of 500 demonstrating students.

On Thursday, September 9, an

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

African Summit Talks Focus On Zimbabwe Unity

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) — The five Black African presidents who met here last week agreed to step up the armed liberation struggle in southern Africa but failed to resolve the differences among the factions of Zimbabwean (Black Rhodesian) nationalists seeking majority rule in the breakaway British colony.

Host President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Agostinho Neto of Angola, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Seretse Khama of Botswana had hoped that the leaders of the two factions of the African National Council (ANC) and the Zimbabwe Liberation Army (ZILA) could come to an agreement that would hasten the collapse of the White minority government of Rhodesia, headed by "Prime Minister" Ian Smith.

However, talks between the five heads of state with representatives of the liberation organizations, as well as consultations among the groups themselves — the latter lasting from 2 p.m. Monday, September 6, to 4 a.m. the next day — failed to make a breakthrough.

"THIRD FORCE"

Representing the "external" faction of the ANC at last week's summit meeting were Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. Joshua Nkomo was there on behalf of the "internal" ANC faction, and Robert Mugabe attended as the political chief/guerrilla leader of the Mozamique-based ZILA, known as the "Third Force" or "Fighting Force."

The differences among the Zimbabwean liberation organizations are the result of sabotage by the Smith regime, supported by South Africa and the U.S. The situation was made all the more complex with the announcement two weeks ago of the formation of a new Black political party — the Zimbabwe Reformed African National Council (ZRANC).

Reuters originally reported that the Salisbury-based ZRANC was prepared to reopen the constitutional talks which broke down earlier this year with the Smith government and that Mugabe would serve as leader of the new party. But Mugabe has denied any involvement with ZRANC.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Soweto Black Student Protest Leader Evades South African Police

(Johannesburg, South Africa) — The South African government, known for its notoriously harsh security, is trying to determine how a British television team succeeded in interviewing a 19-year-old Soweto student considered a major leader in the Black protests that have erupted in this sprawling "township" over the last three months.

Tsietsi Donald Mashinini has been dubbed "The Scarlet Pimpernel" by South African police who, despite the offer of a $575 reward for information leading to his capture, have been unable to apprehend the legendary young Black leader for the past two months. The interview, conducted by Thames Television — which smuggled cameras and film both in and out of the country — has been reprinted in several Johannesburg newspapers, the *New York Times* reports.

In the interview, Mashinini said that young Azanians (Black South Africans) will no longer accept concessions by the White minority government. "It only shows how much the people do hate the South African racist regime," he said concerning the widespread support Azanians have given recent political protests.

"What's happening," Mashinini continued, "is that the system has done. . .so much harm to my people that the people are no longer interested in having equal rights with the White people. . .They want the tables turned so the White man can get a taste of his own medicine and feel what it is like to be oppressed."

Much publicized colorful accounts of the young Sowetan leader's exploits include his being triumphantly carried through the streets of the "township" on the shoulders of protesters, almost under the noses of the police. Pictures have been printed of Mashinini in local newspapers addressing crowds of students and, according to reports, he managed to slip out the back door at one meeting while police were pouring through the front.

Mashinini's personal "bodyguard" numbers 100 friends and followers who guard him at all times. In order to avoid capture, he sleeps at different houses each night, traveling about Soweto in different cars every day that are usually driven by sympathetic taxi drivers.

Mashinini is so popular, his family and friends report, that he could remain hidden in Soweto for months.□

Two Colored Capetown Protesters Murdered In White Backlash

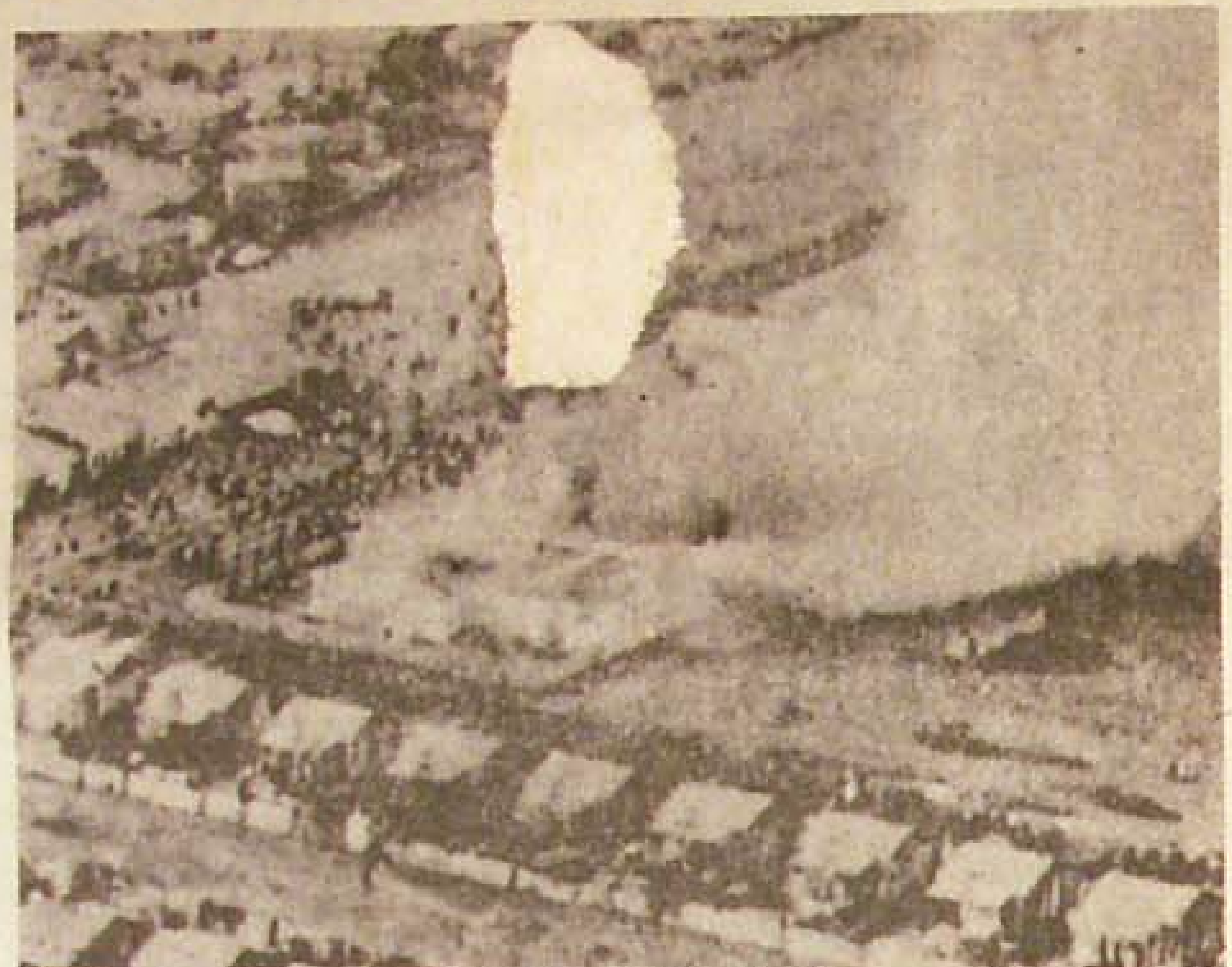
CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

eight-year-old girl was among the 22 people who died, the highest daily death toll in the Cape Town area since Black and Colored political protests began in South Africa three months ago. The worst violence on this day occurred in Mannenberg, a section of the sprawling Athlone "township," less than 10 miles from Cape Town.

Two suspected looters were shot to death in Mannenberg on Friday, September 9, and between 350 and 550 Colored students were arrested during a sit-down demonstration on the high school rugby field in Port Elizabeth, 420 miles east of Cape Town.

The *New York Times* reports that the uprisings by South Africa's Colored population of 1.5 million have upset Whites even more than the massive protests staged by the country's 18 million Blacks. According to a White South African columnist, "You have to understand that in the framework of separate development, the Coloreds have traditionally been the most favored."

Unlike the Azanians (Black South Africans), Colored people have been allowed to own property and are not subject to the cruel pass laws. They also have greater social and economic mobility than do Azanians.



Smoke rises from a store burned by Blacks during a recent uprising in Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

"A few years ago, I think, most Coloreds wanted very much to be like Whites," said a young Cape Town Colored woman. "Our people had small advantages over the Blacks and we were easily led into rejecting our Black patrimony (heritage)."

Now, however, the young woman continued, the mood in the Colored community has changed to one of complete solidarity with Azanians and Asians. "We know we are all the victims of a system that must change and that is our only demand, an immediate end to inequality."

In other developments in South Africa last week, five prominent Black journalists were arrested by security police, raising increasing fears by the country's English-language press which has long been a target of government reression.□

WORLD SCOPE

Laos

In a move to bolster a population largely destroyed by over a decade of war with Western imperialist forces, the progressive government of Laos has banned birth control. Laos Information Minister Sisana Sisane said in a recent interview that, "There is so much empty land in Laos," that a larger population is needed to develop it. Another major part of the government's determination to do away with family planning is that several devious birth control programs can be directly traced to earlier projects of the CIA-controlled Agency for International Development (AID) which took place to prior to Laotian liberation.

Israel

The publication of a confidential report written by a high-ranking Israeli official suggesting ways to curb the growing number and influence of Israeli Arabs in the Galilee region has provoked a sharp conflict in the country. The report is said to have been written a year ago, the *New York Times* reports, after an Israeli Arab, Soufik Zayad, a communist, won election as mayor of Nazareth. A leftist newspaper called for the ouster of the report's author, Israeli Minister of the Interior Israel Koenig, stating, "An individual possessing an outlook as potentially damaging as Koenig's should not be responsible for so sensitive an area as the Galilee."

Australia

Australia has obtained approval from the Ford administration to drop its opposition to Indonesia's takeover of tiny East Timor, according to a report in the *Melbourne Age* that cited U.S. officials in Southeast Asia" as its sources. During Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's recent visit to Washington, administration officials warned him against further tension between Australia and Indonesia over the Timor issue. The *Age* said, according to *Pacific News Service*, Fraser was told that control of East Timor by a "friendly anticommunist government" was a matter of strategic interest to the U.S.

ENTERTAINMENT

Poems By Mao Tse-Tung

Tapoti

Red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet:
Who is waving this rainbow festoon, dancing up the sky?
A slant of sun breaks through after rain,
Moment by moment fresher grows the land.

Fierce battles here that year:
Scars in the front village wall of bullets
To hallow these outposts remain,
So doubly fair this day to behold.

Summer 1933

Winter Clouds

Winter clouds snow-laden, cotton fluffs flying,
None or few the unfallen flowers.
Chill waves sweep through steep skies,
Yet earth's gentle breath grows warm.
Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards
And wild bears never daunt the brave.
Plum blossoms welcome the whirling snow;
Small wonder flies freeze and perish.

December 1962

Militia Women

How bright and brave they look, shouldering five-foot rifles
On the parade ground lit up by the first gleams of day.
China's daughters have high-aspiring minds,
They love their uniforms, not silks and satins.

February 1961

Loushan Pass

Fierce the west wind!
Up wide skies wild geese are crying for the moon in the frosty dawn.
In the frosty dawn,
Horse hooves clattering,
Bugles sobbing low.

Boast not too fast this stern pass was as real as iron
Now that with firm steps we are trampling right through the summit.
Right through the summit
To see the green hills reeling like waves
And the dying sun like blood.

February, 1935

RICHARD PR[YOR:] "I HAD A CHANCE TO BE WHITE A[ND I R]EFUSED"

The folowing article is excerp[t]ed from a much longer intervie[w] in the September issue of Ebo[ny] *magazine.*

Richard Pryor can do just abo[ut] anything in front of an audience except sing. In private he even tries to get away with that.

One of his favorite songs is the nursery school round *Found A Peanut* ("Found a Peanut, found a peanut, found a peanut today...") He sings it to himself, quietly and almost unconsciously, as if it were a broken record going around in his head.

But Pryor's strongest suit is comedy. Until fairly recently he thought of himself mostly in terms of nightclub comedy. His energies, he says, were concentrated toward refining the craft of cabaret humor. "I was never pleased with getting just a good show," he says. "I'm not interested in that."

His on-stage performances, therefore, have set new standards for excellence. It is clearly theater to watch his dramatizations of the conversations of winos, prostitutes, junkies and hustlers he mimics in his routines.

His family ran whorehouses in Peoria, Illinois, as he was growing up, Pryor says, and many of the characters he portrays on stage are actually people he knew intimately as a child.

Society tends to regard such people as failures. Pryor raises them to the level of street heroes. He destroys social norms and taboos and attacks high elected officials with the same embarrassingly funny vulgarity he uses in adopting the role of a Mississippi brother named Mudbone.

Low-life characters become discerning philosophers while many people who sit in high places are reduced to ignoramuses. Pryor takes on their personalities for scenarios unparalleled in their satirical honesty. They are alternately described as obscene, but surely Pryor's re-enactments of conversations are rarely more ribald than standard ghetto street vernacular.

He simply doesn't censor the stories he retells, and he gives detailed, if expanded versions. He uses a method that is a subtle blend of the language and physical style of common people put into spontaneous skits that can at once be hilarious and horrendous. Pryor doesn't just tell jokes; he relives incidents.





RICHARD PRYOR in Lady Sings the Blues *(top photo) with DIANA ROSS and with* Uptown Saturday Night *director SIDNEY POITIER.*

He is very much like an orchestra director while on stage. During the live taping of his forthcoming Reprise Records release, tentatively named *Bicentennial Nigger,* at the Roxy in Hollywood, Pryor carefully set a tempo for his audience.

"By the time I get to the mike, the energy is so high I wouldn't care if a dude in the audience has a heart attack," he says. "All they could do is carry him out because I'm going to finish."

The days of Black actors working only in Black movies are apparently over, just as are the days when Blacks are unable to produce positive screen images about Blacks. Richard Pryor is committed to being a *Black* artist, but one who can draw a White audience. "I think it's been a struggle for me because I had a chance to be White and I refused. They offered me that every day. They try me now."

Richard turned his back on Black explotation offers and got few star billings. Now he's getting the last laugh. □



Participants in recent African summit conference which called for stronger unity in Zimbabwe and a stepping up of the liberation struggle in southern Africa were Presidents AGOSTINHO NETO, JULIUS NYERERE, SAMORA MACHEL, SERETSE KHAMA and KENNETH KAUNDA.

African Summit Talks Focus On Unity

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19
(See THE BLACK PANTHER, September 4, 1976.)

In order to understand the current scenario involving the Zimbabwean liberation struggle, the following points should be noted:

•The oldest Zimbabwean nationalist group is the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which launched the armed struggle against the Smith regime in 1966. Mugabe is a member of the Central Committee of ZANU.

•In 1974, the Smith government, backed by South Africa and the U.S., devised a scheme to crush the armed struggle in Rhodesia, with the main objective the destruction of the popularly-supported ZANU. The government proposed the creation of an "umbrella" organization of all liberation groups, which included ZANU; the now defunct Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), headed by Nkomo; the African National Council, a moderate, religious-based group headed by Bishop Muzorewa; and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI).

INTERNAL DISSENSION

•The new organization, the ANC, soon fell into internal dissension. Indeed, ZANU only agreed to join the group because of threats from Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, whose government still detains several ZANU militants. Muzorewa and Nkomo became involved in a personal dispute. Nkomo was later handpicked by Smith to participate in last March's negotiations to create a Black ruled government — negotiations which failed because of the White settler regime's firm opposition to immediate Black majority rule.

•Meanwhile, ZANU was beset by internal problems, including the defection of its former president, Ndbaningi Sithole, and the murder of its secretary general, Herbert Chitepo. Sithole has since joined forces with Bishop Muzorewa.

•Last December, progressive elements of ZANU, ZAPU and FROLIZI announced the formation of ZILA, whose main task is the armed struggle against the Smith government. According to the *New York Times*, neither Nkomo or Muzorewa is allowed to visit the ZILA guerrilla camps in Mozambique.

President Samora Machel is among those who believe that the true political leaders of the Zimbabwean people will arise from the fighting force, ZILA, which, with the aid of Mozambique, is waging a fierce, increasingly successful war against the White minority government.□



Black South African youths, who are leading the current revolt against apartheid, carry on demonstration in Soweto "township" outside Johannesburg.

Vorster Takes Tough Stand On Apartheid

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18
Black-ruled Rhodesia. At the Zurich meeting, Vorster reportedly told the U.S. secretary of state that Smith would eventually accept majority rule and that his role is vital as the only viable and credible White leader in Rhodesia.

Kissinger, on the other hand, told Vorster that the U.S. and Britain feel there is no hope that Smith will agree to surrender control to Blacks.

Commenting on the Western proposal that assures financial aid and property guarantees for Rhodesia's Whites, Senate majority whip Robert Byrd of Virginia said, "My intuition is that it (compensation) is an ideal that would not be embraced (by Congress)." According to Byrd, the compensation would be considered foreign aid, and he noted that the current foreign aid program was having difficulty winning Congressional approval.

At this point, it is not known whether the governments of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola will accept the financial compensation package. Without their support, one diplomat said, the U.S.-British initiative would be "meaningless and irrelevant."

There are some remaining aspects of the plan to be worked out. One item under discussion concerns providing White Rhodesians who choose to remain in the country with higher payments than those who leave.□

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Chile

The National Intelligence Bureau (DINA) of Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet is continuing its savage repression of Chilean citizens as the country's military junta begins it third year of rule. Surveying human rights reports compiled by various international organizations, *Pacific News Service* reveals that DINA has been named as responsible for the institutionalization of torture in Chile. As the result of periodic assaults by DINA on resistance groups, over 1,000 Chileans have been declared "missing" after their arrest. During DINA's five-month operation to break the MIR (Leftist Revolutionary Movement), over 2,000 persons were arrested, 370 of whom have disappeared.

Argentina

Argentina's reactionary military government responded to widespread strikes in the automotive industry last week with a decree punishing "instigators" of work stoppages with up to 10 years in prison. The current strikes have halted work by 20,000 employees at assembly plants of Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, Mercedes-Benz and Fiat, in the most serious protest against wage restrictions since the military government ousted President Isabel Peron in March of this year. Wage reductions have reduced the real purchasing power of already meager paychecks 30 per cent since last December. An automotive company executive admitted there is an economic basis to the protests, but claimed they were being "politically manipulated" against the military junta.

Argentina

Thirty mutilated bodies were found recently outside the village of Fatima, located about 40 miles west of Buenos Aires. Another 17 bullet-ridden bodies were found last month near the Buenos Aires suburb of Banfield. The 30 victims found near Fatima appeared to have been shot before their bodies were destroyed by explosives, a method commonly used by right-wing "death squads."

MARTIAL ARTS

Competition

The competitive values that drive us, to a large extent, are a reflection of social attitudes and the perspective from which we view each other and ourselves. Competition, as it has developed in the Western countries of the world and countries under the influence of the West, have pushed such ideas as; "win or else," "everyone loves a winner," and "it doesn't matter how you play, just win."

In the United States the competitiveness begins in a sportive manner, for recreation and specific skill development. Once the social influences of "be the best," "get to the top, any way," becomes identified as the only way an individual can, for one reason or another, stand out from his/her friends, then the effects of a society built upon ruthless misuse of human potentials becomes clearer.

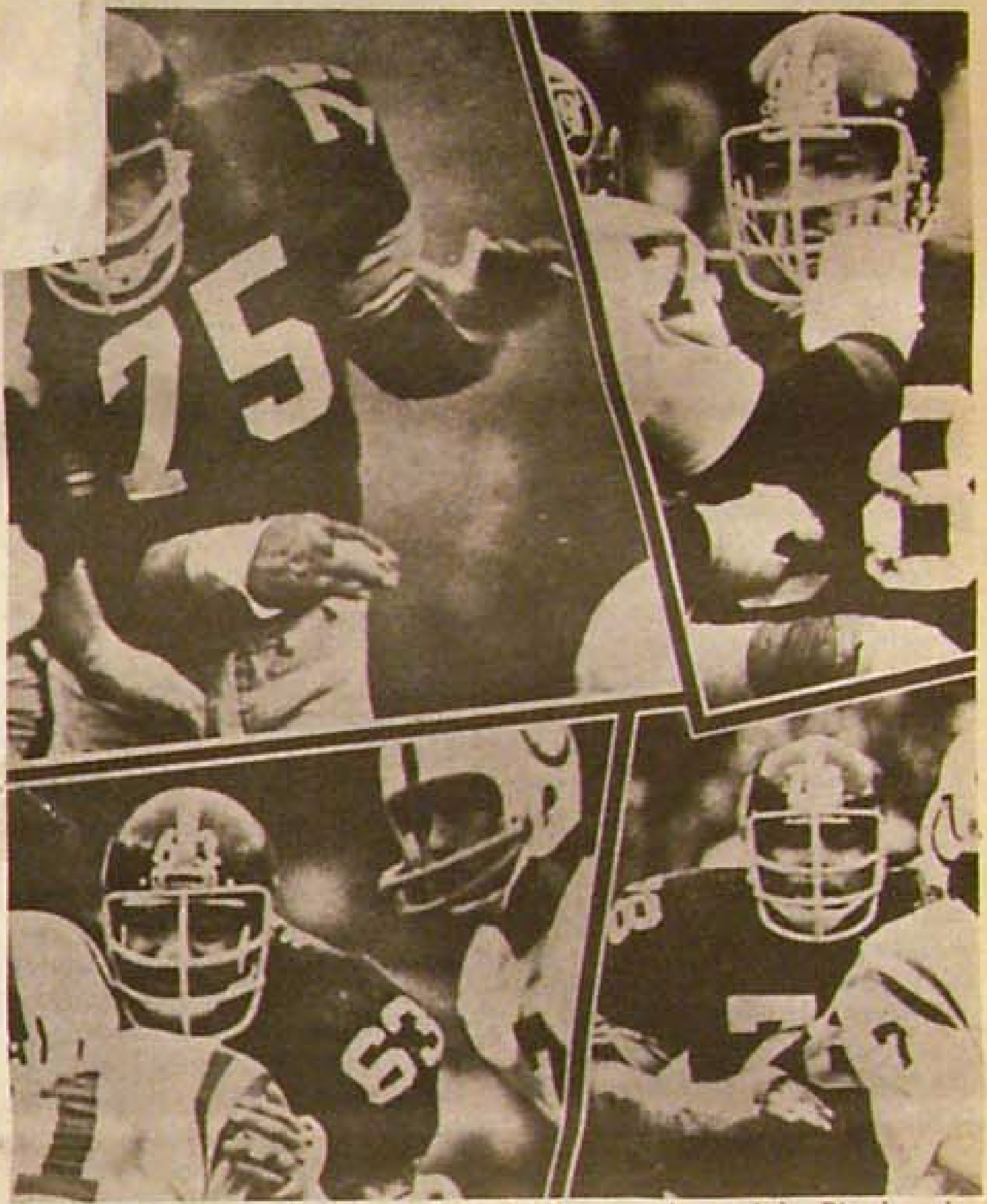
Western views and organizational/individual sports override the fact that the individual's participation and performance in an activity is primarily based on increasing understanding of our own untapped abilities and developing workable body/mind activity patterns that enable us to perform beyond the sports arena. However, the participation of many individuals is due to a family or peer group, encouragement that for the most part, are "hand me down" beliefs on athletic competition.

Many people believe that competition can be used as a scale to measure/compare abilities and skills and that youth or adults need vigorous use of their bodies to actualize latent use of general skills. The mentality of most physical educators and sport coaches is that competing against another individual or group of individuals to the exclusive aim of winning; beating others in a given event, is a natural occurrence and drive in everyone. Even among the animals of the world, unaffected "civilization," they engage each other for real reasons related to survival or relaxation.

"Civilized folks" cannot seem to enjoy a sport unless someone's head is crushed or an opponent is nearly in a coma. Who are the real animals?

PRO FOOTBA COLLEGE DRAFT RULED ILLEGAL

James "Yazoo" Smith Awarded $276,000



"Mean" JOE GREENE (top left) and other members of the Pittsburgh Steelers' "Steel Curtain" defense. Recent ruling shocked pro football as college draft was declared illegal.

(Washington, D.C.) - In a decision that literally rocked the foundations of professional football, United States District Court Judge William B. Bryant ruled here last week that the National Football League's (NFL) annual draft of college players is illegal on the grounds that it violates federal antitrust laws.

The historic decision by Judge Bryant upheld the claim by Jim "Yazoo" Smith, a first-round selection by the Washington Redskins in 1967, that the draft illegally restrained his right to bargain effectively for his full market value since it bound him to only one NFL team.

In his ruling, Bryant declared: "The owners agreed among themselves that the right to negotiate with each top quality graduating college athlete will be allocated to one team and that no other team will deal with that person.

"This outright, undisguised refusal to deal constitutes a group boycott in its classic and most pernicious form, a device which has long been condemned as a per se violation of the antitrust laws."

Bryant called the NFL draft "absolutely the most restrictive one imaginable," stripping college players "of any measure of control over the marketing of their talents."

In his decision against the NFL, Bryant awarded Smith $276,000 for treble damages plus costs and attorney fees. In his first year in the NFL, Smith became a starter for the Redskins but broke his neck in the final game of the 1968 season, ending his career.

Attorneys for Smith successfully contended that the draft rule denied him the opportunity to bargain effectively with the Redskins. Specifically, they argued that in the absence of the draft, Smith might have been able to bargain for a contract that would have given him more financial protection in case of a disabling injury.

As it was, he received $28,000 for signing and making the team and was paid $22,000 for 1968. The club also paid him $22,000 for 1969, which would have been his option year (after which he would have become a free agent) had he not been injured.

Smith was elated over his victory, but he expects many more rounds of legal action before the case is settled. The NFL is preparing to appeal. "When the cash is in the palm," he said, "it'll be another thing."

The Smith case is the latest in a series of legal setbacks for the NFL. In two earlier cases, one involving former quarterback Joe Kapp and one involving former tight end John Mackey, the league's "Rozelle Rule" was declared illegal. Under the "Rozelle Rule," a team that signed a free agent who had left his team had to compensate the player's former team.□

"Shuttle Diplomacy"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

sume power as the result of U.S. intervention.

As outlined by President Ford last week, the U.S. has three major objectives that Kissinger will push in his "shuttle": (1) "To prevent an escalation of violence in southern Africa; (2) "to realize popular aspirations while guaranteeing minority (White) rights and economic progress"; and (3) to "resist the intervention. . .(of) outside forces" — meaning the Soviet Union and Cuba who aided Angola last year after it was attacked by South African troops.

At one point, it appeared that the situation in Namibia would be easier to negotiate than that in Rhodesia. However, South Africa faces the possibility of severe United Nations-imposed economic sanctions as the result of the Vorster government's postponement of Namibian independence until December, 1978.

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the political party recognized by the U.N. and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as the sole representative of Namibia's Black population, says that it will only negotiate directly with South Africa, not as part of any constitutional conference, and that the apartheid regime must withdraw all its troops and release all political prisoners in the territory. SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma declared that his organization will not talk "at gunpoint."□



Guerrillas in southern Africa are intensifying their struggle.



Thousands of Chinese in Peking wait their turn to enter the Great Hall of the People to view the body of their great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

"ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

and buildings throughout the city.

Hsinhua reported that all Chinese newspapers devoted their entire front page to a huge picture of Mao bordered in black. The newspapers used the banner headline:

"Eternal glory to our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

The son of a peasant family, Mao Tse-tung was born in the province of Hunan on December 26, 1893. In 1921, Mao and 11 others founded the Chinese Communist Party. He assumed leadership of the Party in 1935, during the course of the historic Long March, and molded the 30,000 survivors (from 100,000) of the over 6,000 mile journey, into the world's most politically advanced and feared fighting force. Battling from the far-northwest province of Yenan, the People's Liberation Army defeated both the Japanese invaders as well as Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, before assuming people's power in 1949. (See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for a complete biography on the life of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.)

Accompanying the announcement of Mao's death, China's leadership issued a call for unity to "carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao."

The joint message from the Communist Party Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the People's Republic and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, said Mao's most basic doctrine of continuing class struggle must remain paramount.

The message spoke of the need to "deepen the criticism of Teng Hsia-ping" (the Party's former first vice chairman who was purged this past spring) and, following a pledge to "carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs resolutely," the statement declared:

"We are determined to liberate Taiwan."

The death of Chairman Mao is the third such emotion-filled mourning that the Chinese people have had to face this year. Premier Chou En-lai, the republic's chief administrator and organizational genius, died on January 8 at age 78, and Marshal Chu Teh, architect and longtime commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army, died on July 6 at age 90.

"I have witnessed the tremendous energy of the masses," Mao wrote in 1958, during the course of the Great Leap Forward. "On this foundation it is possible to accomplish any task whatsoever."

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

THE EAST IS RED

ETERNAL GLORY



Chinese people pay their respects to their beloved Mao Tse-tung in Peking's Tien An Men square.

Behind The Smile

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

caving in to Reagan on foreign policy. Carter couldn't think of one; he'd supply one later. In his room afterward, I offered some. The shifts in detente policy — Carter paused, that was "too controversial." The threats to intervene in Cuba or Africa. Carter sounded impatient; he started twisting his ring again — that was also "too controversial." Something noncontroversial — Ford renouncing the word detente. That was "all right." We told Broder on the press bus.

On the plane, I prepared briefing materials for Carter's session with other candidates on *Issues and Answers*. Carter, one aide said, "doesn't like to appear with the others." He "detests" the League of Women Voters forums on Public Broadcasting. In one briefing paper, I needed to refer to the dollar savings due to government reorganization in Georgia. I asked Jody. He was off-handed. "We say $50 million, but no one really knows how much it saved or cost. It depends on how you calculate it." Was there any other research? No. Carter was reducing 1,900 agencies to 200. Where did that number come from? "It sounded good."

TO BE CONTINUED

Jimmy Carter

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Black political leadership has developed in California, dating from the first neighborhood political club, the Fillmore Democratic Club, through the 1960 founding of the California Black Leadership Conference.

Since the Warren court's one man/one vote decision, California Blacks have brought old man gerrymander to a standstill, and now find themselves more politically advanced than any other state concentration of Blacks in America. California's Black population, exceeding 1.69 million, (second only to New York's 2.3 million)

POLITICAL SKILLS

With sophisticated operational political skills developing from the neighborhood Democratic Clubs through the Presidency of the California Democratic Council, many California Blacks play important roles in the national political scene. The majority of the Black Democratic leaders coalesced around the candidacy of Governor Jerry Brown. The most important Black politico supporting Carter was David Cunningham; he (rightly so) was elected chairman of the California Carter delegation and vice co-chairman of the California Democratic Convention delegation.

In the North, Don McCullum, former Berkeley city attorney and former president, Alameda County NAACP branch, and Renee Davidson, Alameda County recorder, were the top non-religious Carter supporters. Of course the Black preachers followed the Carter trail with their hands out, and since they have recently been burned, they are in suspicious and suspended animation. If the old rules which were successful had been followed, Cunningham would have headed Carter's organization below the Tehachapi, Davidson and McCullum would have co-chaired the Carter campaign north of the Tehachapi, and other Black Democrats, leaders and followers, would have coalesced behind these three leaders.

However; the wisdom of the Sage of Plains has decreed differently. The silence of California Black Democratic, political leaders on this crucial issue of local control of California's Black participation in national campaigns has been both deadening and shocking. Is Carter punishing Black Democrats for having rallied to Brown and not Carter in the primaries? Is Carter trying the old, hitherto nonsuccessful political trick of every White

CONTINUED IN LAST COLUMN

CONTINUED FROM FIRST COLUMN

politician in his time trying to create his own Black leaders?

We find it difficult to decide upon whom to level our most devastating wrath: the silent Black Democratic leaders who apparently are tiptoeing in the presence of Sage Carter, with the hope that should he obtain the White House they will be remembered as non-irritating "house niggers" and the lightning might strike them with political plums, or, should we first vent our spleen upon an arrogant Southern ex-governor, Jimmy Carter, who aspires to be President of the USA and in so doing attempts to demean 1.69 million California Blacks who are more numerous than approximately 18 or 19 of the sister states of the nation?

As this is written, the 1976 Presidential election is 70 days away. With more than 45% of the potential Black vote unregistered all over the country (and in California it is probably higher) how can an out-of-state courier offer any form of leadership in the registration of the tens of thousands of Blacks who must respond to the first step of the political process? Moreover, after the registration process is completed, what secret formula will spring from the heads of Carter's Georgia High Command which will more effectively get out the Black vote on Election Day than the indigenous California Black political leadership has successfully demonstrated over the past quarter of a century?

POPULATION

The population of California is more than one-tenth the nation's population. Any successful Presidential candidate must pursue California's 45 electoral votes.

The great progress which Blacks have made in California in the last 28 years has been due to their indigenous Black political leadership, the most important leverage in the struggle for full freedom. California's Black Democrats will refuse to cooperate with all carpet-baggers sent by Jimmy Carter to lead us.

Read what other voices are saying:

The $5,000 Carter gave to four Black California ministers to use in wooing support in Black areas wasn't the only thing Carter has been doling out lately, according to Patrick J. Buchanan (*News*).

"The biggest surprise. . .is that the ministers sold out so cheap," Buchanan says. "Twenty five or even 50 bucks a sermon is chicken feed when you consider what Mr. Jimmy has promised the White power structure for its support."□

Letters to the Editor

MARYLAND INMATES RESPOND TO DISTORTED LETTER ON PRISON CONDITIONS (Cont.)

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Mr. Hawkins alleges that men are discouraged from setting fires, but, if a man gets sick at any time but Monday morning before 8:00 he must set a fire to get the officer to his cell door. Then he is gassed, brutalized and put in the hole

Mr. Hawkins alleges that if a man refuses to come out of his cell, he is sprayed with gases because it is the most humane and safest way to subdue him. This is ridiculous. These gases can cause permanent injury. Mr. Hawkins also says that a man subjected to gas is showered immediately, as with anyone else affected by the gas, and that the entire wing is aired. Gas is poured in on a man until he is unconscious. He is then placed in the hole and made to suffer the effects of the gas for days. Men who happen to be in adjacent cells are not showered. If they ask for a shower, they are threatened with gas. Only after a loud and continuous outburst from the men in the cells, are the windows opened. The same holds true for fires. Thick smoke pours into the cells surrounding the fire, but the cells and windows remain closed.

Mr. Hawkins says that men who receive visits are escorted across the yard by an officer. This is true, as far as it goes. He failed to mention that these men are in handcuffs, even though they are in the maximum security institution for the state, and there have been cases where men in handcuffs have been set upon by other inmates and severely beaten, while the officer/escort stood by. He also alledges that the visits are responded to as soon as possible. This is true, if it means that your visit arrives at 11:00 and they can't get you to the visiting room before 12:00.

Mr. Hawkins alleges that the reason mirrors were confiscated from the segregation wing is because some inmates were using them as weapons. There has been one case where a mirror was used as a weapon. The real reason for the confiscating of mirrors is that the inmates were using them to look up and down the tiers, and the officers were unable to go about their acts of brutality and oppression in the dark.

Mr. Hawkins also alledges that all inmate complaints are evaluated by some staff member. This may be true, but, the results of these evaluations are among the most closely guarded secrets in America. Complaints are never answered. Letters to the Administration are never answered.

As the Assistant Warden-Custody, Mr. Hawkins apparently believes his duties to include public relations. His attempt to gloss over the ills of the penitentiary reminds one of a situation which existed in New York some time ago. In a case revolving around Willowbrook State Hospital for the Mentally Retarded, the administration maintained that the conditions were humane. However, letters and complaints continued to flow oout. One person decided to conduct an investigation, and needless to say, he found a situation that would shock the conscience of any normal human being. So, in essence, history reflects attempts to conceal the conditions that exist in these institutions in regards to the inhumanity, brutality, and other atrocities committed by an insensitive administration.

In the month of July alone, three men, Jesse Clark, Calvin Thomas, and Ernest Blunt were subjected to brutal beatings at the hands of officers on the segregation wing.

Between the period of a few months, 4 men died here, due to a lack of concern on the part of the administration. Two were murdered within days of each other in the same area. One other died of a heart attack decause of a lack of medical attention. One more committed suicide while housed on the protective custody tier. He was only serving a sentence of 6 months for the crime of sniffing glue.

As you can see, the institution described by Assistant Warden Hawkins is not the Maryland Penitentiary; or, if it is, then there are some glaring contradictions between his description and ours. This contradictioin must be resolved, because we are forced to live under these conditions everyday. One method of resolving the contradictions in your mind, and aiding you in deciding what course of action should be taken, would be for you to make a visit to the institution in the near future — an unannounced visit if possible, as a prelude to a lengthy investigation of the situation as it now exists in the maryland Penitentiary.

Sincerely,
Jack Johnson David Murray
for a group of inmates concerned with their survival.

(This letter is in response to the distorted letter written by Maryland State Prison's Assistant Warden McLindsey Hawkins that was printed in last week's paper.)

Johnny Spain Gets 22 Years

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

"Perhaps the court felt a trial of this magnitude should go to verdict at any cost. So be it. Now, however, it is time to give Johnny Larry Spain what he has claimed to be his right for every day of the last five years: the right to stand with dignity in a court of law, to face a jury of his peers as a man, not as an animal chained to a courtroom floor," the motion states.

LEGAL RIGHT

"Under Duran, it could not be clearer that Spain has that legal right. And he has it not simply for his own sake, not simply because chains eviscerate the presumption of innocence, forcing a defendant to struggle to establish that presumption, rather than to preserve it.

"Spain has that right because this entire society is bettered by bestowing it on him; it was worsened the day it was ta away. No society can long sur if its people perceive that system of criminal courts penses indignity in its attemp rectify injustice. And that, cording to Duran, is a percept that chains can only foster.



Bare Adjustment Center cell.

"People who never knew of, or have forgotten the events of August 21, 1971, know that the San Quentin 6 sat through their year long trial in shackles. No conviction based on that fact can be perceived as fair; none may be allowed to stand, if both Johnny Larry Spain and the people of the state of Californa are to be granted the criminal justice system which they deserve."

The motion also details: "Errors in Admitting Prejudicial Material," that is, Judge Henry Broderick's leniency in allowing the prosecution to strengthen its admittedly flimsy case; and "Insufficiency of the Evidence," meaning exactly that.

Finally, under "Prosecution Misconduct," Garry joins in the motion for a new trial filed the previous week by attorney Frank Cox, representing David Johnson, which charged that Marin County District Attorney Bruce Bales illegally spied on the jury during its sequestered deliberations. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.

The well-prepared motion was to have included a personal affidavit from Spain, but prison personnel arbitrarily refused to allow Garry's assistant, Ms. Pat Richartz, and Spain to tape a statement.



BPINS photo

CHARLES GARRY

First, guards refused to allow the cassette tape recorder to be placed on Spain's side of the glass partition which separates him from his visits, even legal ones, in the enclosed A and B rooms used solely for Adjustment Center inmates.

When Ms. Richartz protested, commenting on the obvious impossibility of taping through glass and explaining the statement was needed for the legal brief, the visit was abruptly terminated.

As she left the prison, a Lt. Garrison told Ms. Richartz that, "That man (Spain) won't have a tape recorder in his hands ever again." He there upon banned Ms. Richartz from all further visits.□

F.B.I. Involvement In King Murder Detailed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

tence if he consistently claimed his innocence.

In the intervening years, the FBI's COINTELPRO strategy has been exposed, particularly the extensive campaign to destroy the Black liberation movement. King seems to have been a special target of J. Edgar Hoover, who once called King "the most notorious liar in the country."

It is now known that the FBI tapped King's phones, bugged his hotel rooms, made anonymous phone calls to sow distrust among his associates and placed false fire alarms to disrupt his speeches. It was the FBI that sent King an anonymous letter suggesting that he commit suicide because "your end is approaching...you are finished."

On March 4, 1968, J. Edgar Hoover issued the following directive: "Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify and electrify the militant Black nationalist movement. (Malcolm X) might have been such a 'messiah'; he is the martyr of the movement today. (King could) be a real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'White liberal doctrines.' "

One month later King was assassinated.

MAJOR DISCOVERY

A second major discovery concerns the activity of Frank Holloman, the director of the Memphis police and fire department in 1968. Before that he had been a high-ranking FBI officer for some 25 years.

Holloman saw to it that the only two Black firemen at the fire station down the block from the Lorraine Hotel were temporarily transferred on the evening of April 4 — thus removing two potentially important witnesses.

In spite of numerous threats on King's life, the police department assigned only two security officers. One of the officers, detective Ed Redditt, was assigned at the request of King's Memphis supporters because they trusted him. On the day of the assassination he was called away from his assignment and told to report to Holloman's office.

There, a Secret Service agent told him that his life was in danger. Holloman told Redditt that he should go into hiding. When Redditt objected, he was escorted to his home in the custody of two police officers. By the time they arrived at Redditt's home, King had been shot.□

Chicago Black Man Released — Jailed On False Charges

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

In 1971, in another case, Dixon was convicted of murder and sentenced to 25 to 60 years in prison. He spent over three years in jail before his conviction was overturned by the Illinois Appellate Court. The court ruled that the police had disobeyed a court order by not revealing to defense lawyers that they had found another witness whose story totally contradicted the prosecution's key witness, Mitchell Thompson.

Mitchell Thompson, then 15, testified he saw a man running in the dark with a shotgun shortly after hearing a blast. At the trial he identified Dixon as this man. In spite of the fact that five other witnesses testified that Dixon was at a marriage reception, he was convicted.

After the court overruled Dixon's conviction, Thompson recanted his testimony, saying he didn't really recognize the person who ran with the shotgun. He said the police had "repeatedly suggested" to him that it was Dixon, and had "suggested" a story to him. It was this story that he gave in court.

Michael Jay Green, Dixon's attorney, has filed a $1 million suit in federal court charging that the police violated Dixon's civil rights by conspiring to jail him unjustly. Defendants named are: Police Superintendant James Rochford; Assistant Deputy Supt. William Keating; citywide Homicide Commander Joseph DiLeonardi; Chicago Police Department investigators Patrick O'Hara and John Yucaits, police sergeant Ed Nelson; and police officers F. Zoller and D. Miller.

FEDERAL SUIT

The suit charges that "Scanlon with full knowledge of the fact that he shot himself, conspired with other defendants and pursued a course of conduct designed to cause the wrongful arrest, continued incarceration and conviction" of Dixon. Scanloa "offered perjured testimony. . .withheld evidence. . . and obstructed justice."

The federal suit has been assigned to federal court judge Julius Hoffman, known for his vicious, senile and biased treatment of both defendants and attorneys in the highly publicized, post-1968 Democratic Convention "Trial of the Chicago 8."



JAMES DIXON

John Yucaitis, one of the defendants in Dixon's million dollar suit against the police, helped investigate both the 1971 murder and the Scanlon shooting for which Dixon was jailed.□

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowlede of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

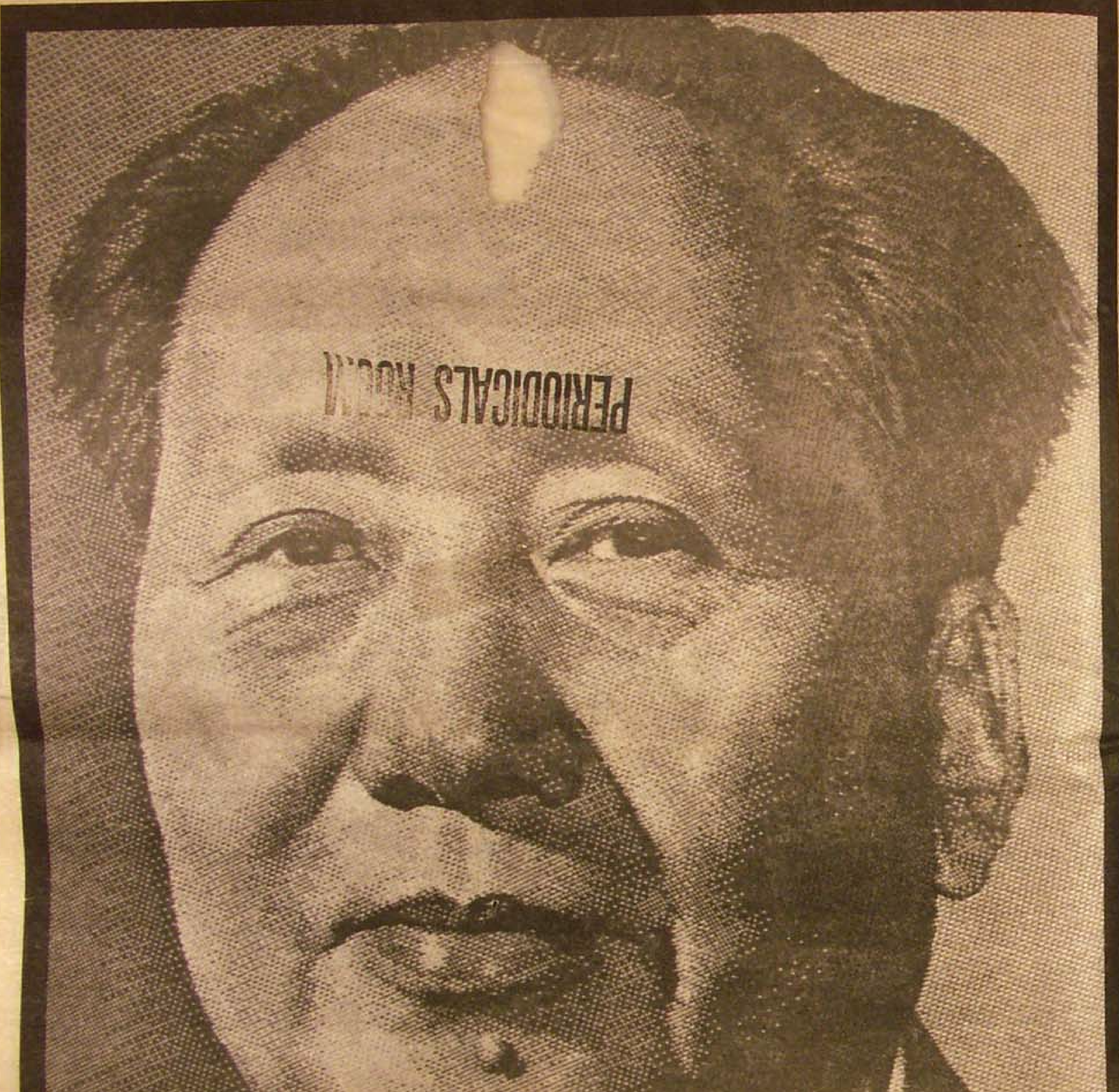
9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



"...So many deeds cry out to be done, And always urgently; The world rolls on, Time presses. Ten thousand years are too long, Seize the day, seize the hour!

The Four Seas are rising, clouds an waters raging, The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring Away with all pests! Our force is irresistible."

—— Mao Tse-Tung ——